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Thesis

# HISTORY OF CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

by

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# OUTLINE

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# Part I

# CHILD LABOR A PRESENT-DAY PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

## A. DEFEAT OF THE PROPOSED TWENTIETH AMENDMENT NOT AN INDICATION THAT THE CHILD-LABOR PROBLEM SOLVED

### 1. Fact that Many Regard Problem as Solved a Discouraging Feature of the Defeat of Proposed 20th Amendment.

While the question of ratification of the proposed twentieth amendment to the Constitution, giving Congress blanket power to control child labor, was before the people, the subject of child labor was discussed from every angle in newspapers and periodical literature. Now one hears very little about the subject.

The child-labor problem is not solved, though many people think it is. In the words of Owen R. Lovejoy, former secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, the public thinks that the problem has been "relegated to the archives along with chattel slavery and cannibalism". He regards this fact as more discouraging than the failure of the states to ratify the amendment.

### 2. Probable Increasing Demand for the Employment of Children

Mr. Lovejoy thinks that the demand for the employment of children is probably increasing, due to the following causes:

1. Restriction of immigration. This would decrease the supply of cheap labor somewhat, and in the absence of increased efforts to protect children, they would tend to enter the ranks of unskilled labor in increasing numbers.

2. Increasing simplification of machinery, making it possible in some cases for children to do work formerly done only by adults.

3. The cry that a large percentage of the population are inferior mentally, and that therefore it is not worth while to try to educate them.[1]

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1 Lovejoy, Owen R., "The Child-Labor Question and the Federal Government", in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1927, p. 28

## B. BRIEF SURVEY OF CHILD LABOR AS IT EXISTS IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY

### 1. 1920 Census Statistics of the Employment of Children[1]

#### a. Scope

The Census statistics show the number of persons ten years of age and over reported as employed at the time of the enumeration. Children from 10 to 17 are reported by age and age group. The statistics do not show ---

1. Children under 10 years of age, large numbers of whom are known to have been working, especially in agriculture and the street trades.

2. The number of children employed only during the summer vacation, and therefore reported as not employed at the time of the enumeration.

Furthermore, the 1920 Census was taken in January instead of April, the month in which the 1910 Census was taken, and therefore many children who in the spring months are found in the agricultural pursuits were reported as not working.[2]

#### b. Number & Proportion of Children 10-17 Years of Age Working, by Ages

The Census reported over 2 3/4 millions of children between 10 and 17 years of age working, over a million 10 to 15 years, and nearly 400,000 10 to 13 years. One out of every 12 children from 10 to 15 was employed.

#### c. Number of Children 10-15 Years of Age, by Industries

The more-than-a-million working children 10 to 15 years of age were divided as follows between the agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits:

Agricultural - 647,309
Non-agricultural - 413,549

Of the children in non-agricultural occupations, over 185,000 were in

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1 See Appendix. Preliminary reports on occupations from the 1930 Census will not be available for some months.

2 14th Census of the U.S., Occupations of Children, p. 5

manufacturing and mechanical industries, the textile industries alone claiming nearly 55,000.[1]

d. The Ten States with Largest Numbers of Children Working

The following 10 states (8 of them southern) had the largest numbers of children working in 1920:[2]

| State | No. of Child Laborers 10-15 yrs. incl. |
|---|---|
| Georgia | 88,934 |
| Alabama | 84,397 |
| Texas | 80,872 |
| Mississippi | 70,354 |
| South Carolina | 63,520 |
| North Carolina | 62,162 |
| Pennsylvania | 55,671 |
| New York | 49,846 |
| Arkansas | 48,140 |
| Tennessee | 39,837 |

e. Comparison of 1910 and 1920 Statistics

(1) Decreases Reported in Numbers of Children Working in 1920

From 1910 to 1920 the total number of children 10 to 15 years of age gainfully employed decreased 46.7%, the number employed in agricultural occupations decreased 54.8%, the number in all non-agricultural occupations decreased 26%, the number in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 29%, and the number in mining, 60.2%.[3] The proportion of the total child populations 10 to 15 years of age gainfully employed decreased from 18.4% in 1910 to 8.5% in 1920.

(2) Difficulty of Knowing Whether Decreases Reported Are Real or Apparent Only The change in the date of the Census already referred to, and changes in the bases of enumeration from 1900 to 1910 and from 1910 to 1920 make it difficult to compare the figures of the 1910 and the

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1 Children's Bureau, Child Labor Facts and Figures, p. 18
2 National Child Labor Committee, Child Labor Facts 1930, p. 1
3 See Appendix, Table VIII

1920 Censuses, or of any of the Censuses.[1] For the same reason it is hard to say to what extent the percentages of decrease as given in the latter Census represent real rather than largely apparent decreases. It is certain that the percentages as given are too large, especially the percentages of decrease for agricultural occupations and for all occupations together. Since the change of date in the taking of the 1920 Census does not affect the numbers employed in non-agricultural occupations to any large extent, the estimated decrease of 26% in the number of children in these occupations is more accurate than the estimates for agricultural occupations and for all occupations.

2. Children Employed in Factories

Manufacturing is the occupation in which child-labor laws have been applied most extensively and most effectively. Yet the 1920 Census gave approximately 185,000 children between 10 and 15 years, inclusive, as employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries. The textile industries employed nearly one-third of the entire number engaged in manufacturing, the cotton mills employing about 22,000.[2] Organized groups of manufacturers, particularly cotton manufacturers, have been and still are the strongest opponents of protective child-labor legislation, although of course not all of them are as unprogressive.

Factory hours are long, and the typical factory is so noisy and the work so monotonous that it may mean serious nervous strain for young boys and girls. Many factories are poorly ventilated and lack good sanitary facilities. Under such conditions "a steady, unvarying, monotonous job for eight hours is for a growing boy or girl unnatural in the extreme."[3]

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1 14th Census of the U.S., op. cit., p. 5
2 See Appendix, Table VI
3 National Child Labor Committee, Child Labor Facts 1930, p. 9

3. Tenement Home Work

Children engaged in tenement home work or "sweat shop" work probably escaped the Census enumerators for the most part, since most of them would have been in school and therefore returned as not gainfully employed.

a. Extent of Tenement Home Work

There are thousands of children engaged in tenement home work in the United States today. It is safe to say that such work is found in most large cities and in many smaller towns all over the country, except in predominantly mining or agricultural communities.[1] The practice of manufacturers of giving out home work, usually through contractors, is probably increasing. It saves the manufacturers overhead expenses, and in addition home workers are so completely unorganized that they work for less than factory workers. All that they can earn is a very few cents per hour. It is the smaller manufacturers, lacking capital and factory space, that resort constantly to the practice of sending out work to be done.

b. Exploitation of Children in Tenement Home Work

The children usually work under the direction of parents or older members of the family. When work is available many children spend several hours a day working, often in poorly-ventilated, ill-lighted rooms, at work involving manual dexterity and excessive use of the eye muscles. They work after school and frequently in the evening, and many of them are almost wholly deprived of play. It has proven so difficult to regulate tenement work-shops that little progress has been made in protecting children from exploitation in such work.

c. Menace to Health of Consumers

The unregulated, sometimes filthy and unsanitary home conditions

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1 National Child Labor Committee, op. cit., p. 10

are also a menace to the health of consumers . Yet industrial home work is so wide-spread that it is safe to say that there is scarcely a person in the United States who does not at times wear, eat or use articles or products from tenement work-shops. Of course the particular articles made in a given community depend upon what the community industries are, but the list of articles usually made in sweat shops is extremely varied and includes the following:

Men's clothing
Women's clothing (beading & embroidering)
Underwear
Artificial flowers
Lace
Powder puffs
Jewelry
Buttons, safety pins & many other small articles (carding)
Hair nets
Christmas cards and seals (packing)
Nuts (shelling)

Often striking abuses to both children and consumers are found, such as the case of an Italian widow found in Newark, working with four children from 3 to 8 years, on the making of powder puffs. Though the children were suffering from impetigo they were enclosing the puffs in "sanitary" packages.[1]

4. Children in Agriculture

a. Numbers of Children Working Greatly Underestimated

Hundreds of thousands of children are at work on the farms of the United States. Even in mid-winter, when almost no farm work is done, the Census of 1920 found nearly 650,000 boys and girls from 10 to 15 years old working in agriculture.[2] No one knows what the number would be if children under 10, of whom there are many working, were counted, and if the count was made at the height of the agricultural season.

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1 National Child Labor Committee, op. cit., p. 11
2 See Appendix, Table I

Child agricultural labor does not mean the running of errands and the doing of a few chores on the farm. The Census enumerators were instructed to return as farm laborers on the home farm only those children who worked somewhat regularly for their parents, and to return as having no occupation children at home who did general housework, chores, or work at odd times at other tasks.[1]

The average American farmer depends in part for his labor supply upon his family, and the majority of boys and girls engaged in agricultural work were upon home farms. Yet there were many thousands of migrant and other hired laborers, and if the Census had been taken at the height of the farming season thousands more would have been found. The following are examples of how the Census figures, taken in January, fail to property indicate the numbers of children working:[2]

> California: An authoritative estimate in 1924 gave the number of children working on the land at the height of the season as 5000, compared with 1832 reported by the Census in 1920.
>
> Cororado: The number of children working in the sugar-beet fields in 1919-1920 was estimated by a representative of one of the sugar companies as 6800, whereas in the winter of 1920 the Census found only 1955 child agricultural workers in the state.

b. Child Labor in Southern Agriculture

Eighty-four percent --- about half a million --- of the child agricultural workers of the United States in 1920 were in 12 southern states.[3] These states produce mainly cotton and tobacco, having about three-fourths of the tobacco acreage and practically all of the cotton acreage. Both these crops require much hand labor, and as a minimum of supervision is needed, children are useful, as the slaves formerly were. Tenant farming fastened itself upon many sections of the South after the Civil War, and these 12 states in the early twenties had 62% of the

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1 14th Census of the U.S., Vol. 4, p. 13
2 Children's Bureau, Children in Agriculture, p. 1
3 Ibid., p. 1

tenant farmers of the country.[1] The more children the tenant farmer can put to work in the fields the more acres he can cultivate, and the greater the acreage which he cultivates, the greater his share.

Of course one large factor in keeping these southern children at work in the fields has been the lack of schools, compulsory education laws, and adequate supervision of attendance. The problems of rural child labor, rural schools and school attendance are by no means confined to the South, but they have been especially acute there.

c. Children's Bureau Surveys of Children in Agriculture

From 1920 to 1924 the Children's Bureau made a series of surveys of children in agriculture in typical farming areas, intended to give a representative picture of the work of children on farms throughout the country. The studies made covered approximately 13,500 children doing farm work in 14 states, and included the following sections and types of farming:

> Sugar-beet-growing sections in Michigan and Colorado; cotton-growing counties in Texas; truck and small-fruit areas in southern New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, Illinois, Washington, and Oregon; wheat, potato-raising, and grazing sections in North Dakota; a section in the Illinois corn belt; and tobacco-growing districts in Kentucky, South Carolina, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.

It was found through these studies that very large numbers of children, even under 12, worked 8 to 10 hours or more a day. It was also found that the migrant child agricultural workers, of whom there were several thousand, were usually greatly retarded in school, and some, whose families went from crop to crop for work, had had practically no schooling at all.

d. Labor Camp Conditions

In addition to lack of education, the migrant children often

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1 Children's Bureau, Children in Agriculture, p. 2

suffered from labor camp conditions, which in some cases were almost unbelievable, violating standards of decency, health and comfort. A single example is sufficient. In Maryland individual farmers provide shacks for the migratory workers which they bring in. These usually consist of two stories and two rooms, with a flight of stairs on the outside leading to the upper room. There is a narrow aisle down the center of each room, and on each side of this the floor is divided into sections by boards about 12" in height, each small section being covered with straw for a mattress, which must serve as the bed for an entire family.[1]

5. Children in Canneries

a. Difficulty of Controlling Child Employment in Canneries

Canneries have long been exploiters of child labor, and in this "age of the can-opener" canneries are increasing. Many states still make exemptions in their child-labor laws for the benefit of canneries, allowing children to go to work younger than in factories or placing no minimum age for their employment, and also allowing them to work long hours and at night. Canneries are also especially difficult to inspect for the enforcement of whatever laws do exist, as there are so many small canneries located in the country or in other places difficult of access, and as the work of canneries is usually seasonal.

Surveys made by the Children's Bureau from 1924 to 1926, during which 560 fruit and vegetable canneries located in 7 states, both eastern and western, were visited, indicate that wherever fruit and vegetables are being canned there children are employed, often very young, and many of them employed for very long hours and at night.[2] The oyster and

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1 Children's Bureau, Children in Agriculture, p. 34
2 Children's Bureau, Children in Fruit and Vegetable Canneries, p.2

shrimp canneries of the Gulf states are especially notorious for their employment of young children for long hours under unhealthful conditions.

b. Working Conditions

In most canneries, particularly the small ones, hot, poorly-ventilated, steam-filled work-rooms and wet floors are common. Many children stand through a working day of 10 to 12 hours, often because no seats are provided, sometimes because they can work faster standing, and make more money.[1]

c. Migratory Workers

Particularly in the eastern and the Gulf-state canneries, the practice is common of supplementing the local labor supply with workers brought in from the cities, sometimes near at hand, sometimes at a considerable distance. Many families go every year to the canneries on the gulf from Maryland and other states.

d. Housing Conditions Similar to Those for Industrialized Agriculture

In the canning industry, as well as in agriculture, the condition of the labor camps for migrant workers is often very bad. Some states are improving their labor camp laws and their enforcement, but "the dirty, insanitary, and dangerously overcrowded labor camp is by no means a thing of the past".[2] In addition to the bad effect of migratory life upon child workers, the children who are too young to work have to remain in overcrowded quarters without supervision, while their mothers and the older children work.

6. Children in Street Trades

a. Numbers of Street Workers Underestimated

In round numbers 21,000 newsboys and 2000 bootblacks 10-15 years old, inclusive, were reported in the 1920 Census.[3] In addition to

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1 Children's Bureau, Children in Fruit and Vegetable Canneries, p. 12
2 Ibid., p. 7
3 14th Census of the U.S., Occupations of Children, p. 13

working in these occupations, children work as street merchants, errand and messenger boys, market stand-keepers, etc.

No complete and accurate accounting has been made for the children working on the streets of American cities. Though the Census reports newsboys and bootblacks, it counts only those 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive. Moreover, since street workers are generally school children, large numbers are reported in the Census as attending school and having no occupation. "The surveys made in many cities indicate that the 20,513 newsboys between 10 and 16 years of age .... would more nearly reflect actual conditions if multiplied by at least two".[1] The Census figure for newsboys is "generally admitted to be greatly underestimated".[2]

b. Reasons Why Children Engage in Street Work

The lure of the streets calls many boys to the street trades. Children's Bureau studies of newsboys indicate that they are generally from normal but poor families, in which there is a strong temptation for the boys to earn whatever they can.[3] If there were less poverty and "near-poverty" in homes, counter-attractions would more often be provided which would keep the boys from the streets.

c. Some Evils of the Work of Children in Street Trades

(1) Effect of Street Trades upon Health and Schooling The exact effects of street work upon the health of children cannot be stated, as there are no studies which indicate this. However, the long hours must of necessity have some bad effects upon the health, as well as the schooling, of the boys. Many paper sellers and carriers work 3 to 5 hours

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1 Children's Bureau, Child Workers on City Streets, p. 2
2 National Child Labor Committee, Child Labor Facts 1930, p. 11
3 Children's Bureau, op. cit., p. 50

a day, besides attending school. Boys working such long hours are almost completely deprived of opportunities for play, and also for home study, except at the end of a long school and working day. Street work often leads to improper habits of eating, as at restaurants or street stands or at irregular times, and also involves late hours, and exposure to all kinds of weather.

(2) Effect upon Morals Street work exposes children to the temptations of street life, and to association with evil characters. Accurate comparisons of delinquency rates of street workers and other workers, or of street workers and the total child population, cannot be made. Though several writers on the subject do attempt to make such comparisons, it is doubtful whether the effect of home environment in leading to delinquency has been properly estimated. Furthermore, such studies have not been sufficiently extensive to justify the comparisons made of street workers and other children in respect to delinquency.[1]

However, fighting, "shooting craps", and practicing dishonest tricks of the trade are certainly common among street workers. Among newsboys, the paper sellers are more often delinquent than the carriers, as their work keeps them on the street for longer hours, in sections where the temptations of the street are more apt to be present. But both the paper sellers and the carriers are usually obliged to go to the delivery rooms to obtain their papers, and these rooms, particularly in large cities, are apt to be frequented by men of very questionable character.

The night messenger service, also, is notoriously bad in its

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1 Children's Bureau, Child Workers on City Streets, p. 22

effect upon the morals of young boys, for it is at night that the calls come in for messengers from those individuals and from those sections of the community that carry on their immoral practices under cover of darkness. Many states now have laws excluding minors under 18 or 21 from such work.

## C. THE MEANING OF CHILD LABOR

### 1. General Features of Children's Work

#### a. Monotony of the Work

Though in the Census enumerations children's work is classified in the same way as adult work, most children's work requires little skill, is routine in character, and particularly in factories and industrialized agriculture consists of simple operations repeated over and over until they become monotonous in the extreme.

#### b. Lack of Training for Industrial Efficiency

Many authorities agree that children's employment affers almost no opportunity for the learning of a trade, as has so often been claimed by employers and others in extolling child labor for its supposed benefits to children. It usually teaches them to be skillful in one operation only, for which the pay remains small, since the operation can be performed by children. Child workers thus join the class of unskilled or semi-skilled workers who are paid relatively low wages and who, because of this, can not raise their standard of living. Many occupations for children, such as newspaper selling and messenger service, lead those who engage in them into "blind alleys", that is, they do not teach the children any work in which they can engage as adults. After passing beyond the children's

tasks, they frequently join the ranks of the casual workers or the unemployed. Agricultural work is perhaps better than factory work because it may teach children to become farmers, yet if it interferes with their schooling seriously it is difficult for them to become progressive farmers or to adopt any better methods than their fathers followed before them. Many children working as laborers at the tasks of industrialized agriculture are simply doing routine work for which the compensation will never be large. Such work is particularly meaningless when the child agricultural workers are migrants from the cities.

2. Present Legal Status of Child Labor in the United States

At the present time child labor in the United States is regulated only by state laws. State regulations deal with various minima which must be met by children going to work, and by the employers of working children. The laws which are classified on the following pages apply for the most part only to factory and store work, and to the work of boys in mines.[1]

a. Minimum Age for Employment

(1) In Factories and Stores[2]

14 Yrs. or Over - 46 States and District of Columbia

Without exemptions: 13 states and District of Columbia
With " : 33 "
Exemptions limited to time outside school hours - 17
Not limited to time outside school hours - 16

No Age Minimum - 2 States

(Wyoming and Utah. In both these states work during school hours is restricted indirectly by laws for compulsory school attendance, to 17 with exemptions in Wyoming, to 18 with exemptions in Utah.)

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1 Except as otherwise indicated, these classifications are summarized from those given in Children's Bureau publication Child Labor Facts and Figures, p. 39-80, and 84-108.

2 The figures include some states in which the regulations apply to other places of employment than factories and stores. Lack of any regulation for stores is classed as an exemption, as is also specific exemption of canneries.

(2) For Boys in Mines[1]

16 Years or Over - 34 States

Without exemptions: 33
With " : 1 (Washington, which has no problem from the employment of children in mines)

Under 16 - 9 States
(Only one of these, Iowa, has a problem due to the employment of children in mines.)[2]

No Minimum Age - 5 States
(None of these has a problem from the employment of children in mines.)

b. Educational Requirements (through either child labor or school attendance laws)[3]

20 states permit a child to leave school for work at 14 years regardless of his grade in school.
- 4 of these have no compulsory attendance requirement beyond 14;
- 3 exempt from school attendance any child of 14 who is employed;
- 13 have a higher general standard, but exempt from school attendance children of 14 (sometimes younger) under special conditions such as poverty, or need of services at home.

24 states permit a child to leave school for work at 14 years, but only if he has completed a specified school grade (3 require also evidence of need).
- 13 require the elementary course or eighth grade;
- 8 require sixth or seventh grade;
- 3 require fifth grade.

(Two states are included in this classification which permit a child of any age to leave on completion of the eighth grade.)

3 states do not permit a child to leave school for work under 15 years of age.
- 1 also required evidence of need;
- 2 require completion of the eighth grade.

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1 Omitting the District of Columbia, where there are no mines. The Children's Bureau publication classifies states also in respect to age minimum for work in quarries. It was thought best not to include this, because, although 16 states have no regulations for quarries, no facts have been obtained as to the extent of quarrying, if any, in these states.

2 Iowa permits children of 14 to engage in mining during vacations and outside of school hours. There were 341 children 10-15 years engaged in mining in 1910, though only 56 in 1920, when the Federal law was in effect, prohibiting children under 16 from working in mines. See Appendix, Table VIII.

3 National Child Labor Committee, Child Labor Facts 1930, p.7

2 states do not permit a child to leave school for work until he is 16.
1 requires completion of eighth grade;
1 requires completion of seventh grade.

c. Physical Examinations for Securing Employment Certificates

27 states require a physician's examination and certificate of physical fitness before a child under 16 can go to work. (District of Columbia counted as a state.)

8 states leave this optional with officer issuing employment certificates.

14 states do not mention it in their child-labor laws.

d. Regulation of Daily and Weekly Hours

| Under 16 | 16-21 Years |
|---|---|
| **8 Daily, Not More than 48 Weekly** | |
| Both Sexes in Factories and Stores[1] - 39 states (Without exemptions: 23 states & D.C. With exemptions: 16 states) | In 1 or More Occupations, Both Sexes, - 6 states (With and without exemptions) |
| **More than 8 Daily, 48 Weekly** | |
| Both Sexes in Factories and Stores - 9 states | For 1 or Both Sexes, All Occupations -21 states |

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1 National Child Labor Committee, Child Labor Facts 1930, p. 7
2 In some states the regulations apply to other occupations. Lack of any regulation or a lower standard for stores is classed as an exemption, as is specific exemption of canneries.

e. Prohibition of Night Work[1]

Both Sexes under 16 in Factories and Stores

Prohibit after 7 P.M. ..... - 45 states
Without exemptions: 26 states & D.C.
With " : 19 states

Allow after 7 P.M. ..... 3 states

Both Sexes 16-21 Years, 1 or More Occupations - 2 states prohibit after 7 P.M.

1 or Both Sexes 16-21 Years, All Occupations -16 states allow after 7 P.M.

f. Administrative Provisions

(1) Employment Certificates for Children Going to Work

In 45 states and the District of Columbia employment certificates or work-permits are required for children working in factories, up to a certain age. In most states certificates are also required for stores and numerous other occupations. Usually the certificates are required for working children up to 16 years of age; in a few states the requirement extends to children up to 17 or 18 years. In most states the employment certificates are issued by local school officials.

It has been found that the issuance of employment certificates by school authorities is the most effective method for their issuance, as the schools know the child through his record, and false statements as to age cannot easily be given. The effectiveness of child-labor laws depends to a great extent upon a proper system of certification for employment, properly administered.

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1 In some states the regulations apply to other occupations. Lack of any regulation for stores is classed as an exemption, as is specific exemption of canneries.)

The evidence of age submitted for the issuance of employment certificates varies much in the different states, and where insufficient evidence is accepted, the child-labor laws can be broken by children obtaining work before reaching the minimum age required by law. The presenting of a birth certificate for the evidence of age is so important that the registration of births has been called the "prerequisite of a child-labor law with teeth". Vital statistics were formerly not kept in large sections of the country, but the Children's Bureau has done much to remedy this situation. However, even at the present time, statistics are notoriously ill-kept in many parts of the country.[1] The securing of adequate evidence of age is therefore still very difficult in many states. Other types of age evidence allowed by the various state laws include school record, statement of physician that child is of the legal age, insurance policy recording age of child, baptismal record, Bible record, etc.

(2) Inspection

Until recently the provisions for inspection have been meagre, and the regulations in many states have been most unsatisfactory. "The experience of state after state has demonstrated that without efficient inspection child labor laws are dead letters".[2] Nearly all the states now make provisions for the inspection of factories, stores and other work places affected by the laws, and for the penalizing of offenders. However, these provisions and the effectiveness with which they are administered vary greatly from state to state.

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1 Fuller, Raymond G., The Meaning of Child Labor, p. 152
2 Commons and Andrews, Principles of Labor Legislation, p. 343

g. Industrial Compensation for Injuries

(1) Large Numbers of Accidents among Minors

Children in their 'teens are more susceptible to industrial accidents than adults. The reasons for this are natural adolescent awkwardness, the carelessness and curiosity of youth, and the strain of the long factory day.

The statistics of accidents to children are rather meagre, as many states either do not collect or do not publish such statistics. However, enough statistics have been published to show that the number of accidents to minors in industry is large. In the industrial states of Wisconsin, Massachusetts and New Jersey in a single year there were 2534 compensable accidents to minors under 18, of which 7 were fatal and 319 resulted in permanent disabilities such as the loss of arms, fingers, thumbs, or toes.[1]

(2) Prohibitions of the Employment of Children in Dangerous Occupations

Most states prohibit children under 16 from working in hazardous occupations and on dangerous machines. Statutes keeping minors from employment in dangerous occupations usually list a very few types of machinery or occupations which are considered dangerous. A few statutes attempt to give detailed lists of all the occupations or machines which may be dangerous. Industry changes too rapidly to pin faith to such lists. What is needed is the entire exclusion of young minors from employment on power machinery and from work in proximity to it. Laws should contain a blanket provision that young people are to be kept from "any employment dangerous to life or limb or injurious to health",

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1 National Child Labor Committee, Child Labor Facts 1930, p. 14

and the responsibility should be placed upon employers to see that children below the specified age do not engage in such occupations. The procedure is growing of granting to state boards or commissions the power to decide what work is dangerous for children, and conferring upon their decisions the force of law. Such a procedure is wise, but is not always followed even when provision is made for it.

At the age of 16 there is a break in the protection thrown around working young people. In many states after the age of 16 they must work for longer hours, and may be obliged to work at night. They may also work on machines which up to this age have been considered too dangerous for them. There is no sudden break in the development of these young people. They are still careless and lacking in the judgment of maturity. The few statistics that have been gathered show that accidents are very common among young people 16 to 18. Long hours and dangerous machines are apt to be a bad combination for them.

(3) Compensation of Minors[1]

Forty-three states have workmen's compensation statutes. Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North and South Carolina do not have workmen's compensation. However, in 31 of the states which have compensation it is a matter of choice to employers whether or not they will accept the compensation plan. In five states the law is compulsory for hazardous industries only, and in four others concerns employing less than the specified small number of workers are exempt from the obligatory provisions for compensation. In only three states is compensation compulsory for all employments. In eleven states the law applies only to hazardous and extra-hazardous occupations.

In some states officials do not know whether employers have accepted or rejected the elective compensation law, though usually they

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1 National Consumers' League, Youth's Compensation for Industrial Injuries, p.8-22

are supposed, in the case of rejection, to post a notice informing their employees that they are working without the protection of the compensation law. When an employer in an occupation covered by the statute does not accept it, he loses the right to interpose common law defences in any suit brought by an injured employee.

Minors are injured, and employers and insurance companies benefit, by the fact that compensation for minors is usually based upon actual wages when injured, which are usually much less than adult wages. Twenty-six states base compensation upon actual wages rather than upon probable future earnings.

Illegally-employed minors are excluded from all compensation for injuries in 15 states, even though the employer may often be more at fault for the disobedience to law than the employee. Seven states are sufficiently progressive to provide more than the regular amount of compensation, as a penalty to employers for the illegal employment of minors.

In 19 states a minor who is permanently totally disabled in his employment receives compensation for less than 10 years, in some states for a very much shorter period. This means that by the time he is 30, or before, the compensation expires, and he is dependent upon charity. Fifteen states pay a life pension, 19 other states pay varying amounts, the average of which is slightly less than $7000. This would be $500 a year for about 14 years. This amount is for permanent total disability, and is usually paid weekly, which precludes the possibility of its being invested.

(4) Cost of Compensation Borne by Consumers and the General Public

Even with the present inadequate compensation for accidents allowed by state laws, the employment of young minors in industry is far too

costly. The money cost is borne by consumers in the increased price of products, and by society in the increasing need for charities.

h. Minimum Wage Laws for Minors

Minimum wage laws for adults are regarded by Scott Nearing as a part of the solution of the child-labor problem. Adequate wages for adults would make it unnecessary for children to enter industry prematurely. However, in none of the states are there minimum wage laws affecting the wages of adult men.

During the years from 1912 to 1923 15 states and the District of Columbia passed laws setting up machinery for fixing minimum wages, to be paid employed women and minors of one or both sexes. In 3 states such laws have been repealed, in 4 they have been declared unconstitutional by Federal or state supreme court as regards women, and are not enforced as regards minors, and in 1 state the law has never been operative because no appropriation was made. In 8 states, as follows, the laws are operative:

California (boys under 18; all females without regard to age).
Massachusetts (boys under 18; under certain conditions boys under 21; all females without regard to age)
Minnesota (boys under 21; girls under 18)
North Dakota (boys under 18; all females without regard to age)
Oregon (boys under 18; all females without regard to age)
South Dakota (females over 14)
Washington (boys under 18; females without regard to age)
Wisconsin (boys under 21; girls under 21)[1]

i. Exclusion from Morally Hazardous Occupations

Many states have made provisions excluding minors under 18 or 21 from employment in one or more specified occupations considered to be injurious because of their affect upon morals. Occupations usually

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1 Children's Bureau, Child Labor Facts and Figures, p. 80

considered to be undesirable from the moral standpoint are employment in pool and billiard rooms, in mendicant occupations, and as messengers in night service.

3. Child Labor Reinterpreted[1]

> "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all its children."---John Dewey

a. Some of the Evils Corrected and Some of Those Remaining

In the past child labor has been thought of by the majority of people as the work of little children for long hours and at meagre wages, under conditions that have often been extremely harmful. Some of the bad conditions have been remedied. The preceding section shows that at the present time, at least in factories and stores, most children do not go to work before the age of 14, the usual working day is 8 hours, and night work is usually prohibited. Working conditions have improved somewhat, and protections of many sorts are now thrown around many working children.

However, there are many omissions in the child-labor laws. Too little has been done to regulate street trades, and little that is really effective has been done to regulate tenement house work and the work of children in agriculture and domestic service. But enough has been done in the control of child labor to cause many unthinking people to believe that the child-labor problem is practically solved.

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1 In this section the author has followed rather closely a chapter with this title in Fuller, Raymond G., The Meaning of Child Labor

b. The Child-Labor Problem a Part of the Larger Problem of Children's Welfare

In reality we have merely compromised with the child-labor problem in some of its worst forms. The objective should be the abolition of child labor. Before it can be abolished, however, the problem needs to be reinterpreted for the public mind, in order that it may be seen as a part of a much larger problem -- the securing for all children in the United States the opportunities that they should have to meet their needs as children and as future adults.

c. Substitutes for Child Labor

Society owes children health, education and vocational fitness, in order that they may be rightly started in life. There is no room for child labor in a positive program for giving children what they ought to have. The substitutes for child labor are play and education. All work that it is proper for children to do should be made a part of their home and school education, and should be done under proper conditions, in such a way as to be really educational. One cannot rightly appreciate the child-labor evil today without an appreciation of the values of play and education for children.

d. The Need to Teach Parents the Values of Play and Education for Children

All educational authorities aree today that play is necessary for children. Play is really a part of education, and when wisely directed it has values for children, some of which can be secured in no other way.

Most parents probably believe that a certain amount of play for children is necessary, or at least they know that children will play, if given any kind of an opportunity. They know too little, however, concerning the values of play and the forms of play which are appropriate to various ages. A few parents think that all time which children spend

in play is absolutely wasted, and that education (narrowly interpreted), and work are the only things which enable the individual to get ahead. They are probably people who never played themselves in childhood. A great deal remains to be done in showing all parents and society in general the value of an adequate, properly supervised play program for children.

It is inevitable that many parents who themselves have had meagre educational opportunities, or none at all, should not be able to appreciate the aims and objectives of education, and so there is need for the education of both parents and children, the former that they may know something of the values which they themselves have missed and desire them for their children.

e. Educational Importance of the Years between Fourteen and Eighteen

Training for vocational fitness, for citizenship, for leisure time --- these are some of the aims of education. No one who really appreciates the importance of these aims of education will think that schooling to the age of fourteen, or completion of eight elementary grades, can give children all the education that they ought to have or all that they are capable of receiving. No one who understands the psychology of adolescence can deny the importance of the years from fourteen to eighteen in the education of children. There are some subjects that simply cannot be taught before adolescence, because the children are unable to appreciate them. Civics is one important subject that cannot be taught well in the elementary grades, or adequately even in junior high school.

f. Distinction between Children's Work and Child Labor

There are many people who object to going too far in child-labor

legislation because they believe that work has important values for children. These people need to be shown the difference between children's work and child labor. Some children's work must remain, as work is a necessity for the proper development of children, and for the health and happiness of all individuals. Work that is not too severe, too prolonged, too monotonous; work that does not deprive children of opportunity to play, that does not keep them out of school; work that is healthful and educative --- is all right. The measure of the value of work for children is the welfare of the child --- not money, though the earning of money does not necessarily make it child labor. Child-labor legislation is never really a bar to children's work, nor to its utilization for educational purposes by agencies really concerned with the care and training of children. Home and school have plenty of opportunity to provide work for children as a means for their education, an opportunity which has been largely neglected, and is particularly disregarded in city homes of the middle class.

Child labor, on the other hand, is work that is too severe, prolonged, monotonous; that does deprive children of opportunity to play; that keeps them out of school, or sends them to school in such a condition of physical or mental exhaustion that they are unable to profit from its instruction. "Child labor is the premature and excessive labor of children, prematurity being regarded from the standpoint of the child's right to childhood, and excessiveness from the standpoint, not only of his powers, but of his needs. It is unsuitable, unprofitable work, whether or not in the so-called 'gainful occupations'".[1]

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1 Fuller, Raymond G., op. cit., p. 11

## D. RESULTS OF CHILD LABOR

### 1. To the Child

#### a. Effect upon Health

Farmers know that they cannot hitch their colts to the plow for ten hours labor a day without wearing them out in a short time. Yet many parents are guilty of allowing children to be employed in factories and on farms for eight to ten hours or more a day.

(1) Bad Physical Conditions in Place of Employment

(a) General Conditions. The working conditions in far too many places of employment are unhealthful, and sanitary facilities are often very poor. Factories are usually noisy , and often dirty, poorly-ventilated, and ill-lighted.

(b) Conditions in Cotton Mills The cotton mills have been among the greatest offenders against the health of workers. This is the more important, in view of the large numbers of children employed in the cotton textile industry.[1] The excessive humidity and heat needed, especially in the spinning and weaving rooms, are not only uncomfortable, but bad for health. The worst feature, however, is the excessive amount of cotton lint in the air, being breathed in by the workers. Raymond G. Fuller, writing in 1923, stated that these objectionable features still held true of southern cotton mills, though certain improvements had been made in the sanitary condition of the factories.[2]

Descriptions of cotton mills in the South around the beginning of the century made frequent mention of "cotton mill anaemia" and the typical cotton mill child". It is probable that the cotton

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1 Cf. p. 4
2 Child Labor and the Constitution, p. 101

manufacturers received more than their just due of blame for the health conditions described by these terms. A study of hook-worm disease among southern cotton mill operatives showed that this disease was brought with the workers from their former homes to the mill towns, and was an important cause of the pale and lifeless expression of the people.[1]

However, in the same Government investigation, in a study of the causes of death among woman and child cotton mill operatives, it was found that among the operatives of several northern cotton mills there were many more deaths from tuberculosis among both women and men operatives, than among non-operatives of the same class.[2] There is no reason to believe that this fact is peculiar to northern factories. The excessive amount of lint breathed in by the operatives is probably an important contributing factor in the causing of consumption.

(2) Excessive Use of Certain Muscles and Failure to Secure Adequate Exercise

Children in the early 'teens are going through a period of intensive physical growth. Even young people in the later 'teens and early twenties are still developing physically. Bones and muscles are immature, and children are harmed by the excessive use of certain sets of muscles and the lack of adequate exercise for the entire muscular system.

Confining employment for children prevents their securing needed play and exercise. On Sundays they are often too tired, after a long working week, to take the needed exercise. This is particularly true of children in states where the legal working hours range from forty-eight to sixty.

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2 Report of the Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners, Vol. 14, Causes of Disease among Woman and Child Cotton Mill Operatives, p. 134

1 Op. cit., Vol. 17, Hook-Worm Disease among Cotton Mill Operatives

(3) Common Physical Defects

Fallen arches and foot troubles, and curvature of the spine, are two very common defects caused by the excessive use of certain muscles. With the latter go underdevelopment of the chest capacity, crowding and displacement of vital organs, including the heart, and the greater likelihood of pulmonary consumption. In general, boys are the more susceptible to foot troubles and girls to postural defects, because the work of the former more frequently involves standing and the work of the latter sitting, for long hours.

Winged should blades are common among children working in agricultural occupations. Although farm workers develop great muscular strength, often they do not secure balanced muscular and physical development.

(4) Statement of the Effect of Child Labor upon Health Made by Insurance Company Representatives

An excellent statement of the effect of child labor upon health is made by Dr. Lee K. Frankel and Dr. Donald B. Armstrong of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, who have said: "The building of a body fitted to bear the strains of later life is the business of childhood and youth. To do this a well-balanced program of living is necessary --- a program that includes rest, exercise that develops every part of the body, and joy-giving play. In many cases the body does not attain its full growth and full strength until a person reaches the age of twenty-one or over. When a child or youth uses one set of muscles over and over through an eight-, nine- or ten-hour day, he develops lop-sidedly in some respect. If he stands or sits continuously in a faulty posture, a curved spine is likely to result. Carrying a heavy load of newspapers under one arm or on the back may cause the same defect. Stooping continuously over

a bench before the lungs have reached their full development or working in a dusty atmosphere may weaken resistance to tuberculosis. The heart may be weakened or injured for life by too heavy work or too long hours of work in youth. Also serious stunting of growth may result from long hours of hard work before a child has reached full maturity. The child worker is inevitably a permanently cheated person. .....

"Most child-labor laws fix too young an age limit. The early 'teens is a period that taxes a boy's or girl's vitality heavily. Young people need to be relieved from excessive strain and tension during this period.

"When boys and girls in their 'teens must leave school and go to work, special precautions are needed to insure that they work only under the best conditions and they are physically fitted for the jobs to which they are sent."[1]

Incidentally, this statement shows that insurance companies are beginning to see that the premature employment of children is not economically profitable.

b. Effect upon Education

Child labor cuts down the number of years that the child spends in school. Most children do not get beyond the sixth or seventh grade, and therefore we are rightly called a nation of sixth-graders. Child labor also cuts out the normal play time of children, and deprives them of the educative values of play.

When work and schooling are carried on together, work robs the

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1 National Child Labor Committee, Child Labor Facts 1930, p. 15

child of energy, and sends him to school too exhausted to profit by the instruction given. The result is retardation in school.

c. Effect upon Earning Power

Child labor is cheap labor, and child laborers are condemned throughout life to a low standard of living. As they become adults they are unable to educate their own children properly, even if they appreciate the value of education. The result is more child laborers and more poverty. Both are cause and effect, and the vicious circle goes on.

d. Accidents to Working Children

Though few statistics of accidents to children have been published, the number of accidents to working minors is large. Accidents mean temporary or permanent, partial or complete disability, with loss of wages, and no compensation in many cases to take their place. Often accidents incapacitate workers for the same type of work, and since they have received a minimum of general education and have been trained usually to perform only one simple, routine type of work, a new position is hard to find, and if found is usually no better paid than the old, if as well-paid.

e. Effect upon Morals

The morals of a child are often adversely affected by the associations of his employment. If he escapes this misfortune, there remains the danger that premature employment may cause him to break away from the authority of his parents, often disastrously to himself. Scott Nearing quotes an employer, who said: "Nothing tends to disrupt and undermine the family so perniciously as the premature independence

"of its immature members." Nearing illustrates by the case of a girl whom workers of Hull House, Chicago, were trying to influence. Though the girl had been well brought up by a conscientious mother, she was travelling around with evil companions and running the streets at night. The girl's mother, who was partly dependent upon her daughter's earnings, was afraid to say anything lest the girl should leave home. The attitude of the girl was: "My mother can't say anything to me. I pay the rent." [1]

2. Results to Society

a. Some Problems of Society Caused in Part by Child Labor

The results of child labor to society are due to the presence in society of adults who as child laborers were weakened physically; deprived of educational opportunities, and thus educated to become low-standard workers; who are often bitter against the economic system which has deprived them of advantages which they should have had. Some of the social problems caused in part by child labor are the physical weakening of the race; illiteracy; political graft and corruption, which are increased when tolerated by ignorant or indifferent citizens; unemployment and labor troubles; the dependence of persons and families, increasing the need for charities; delinquency of children and law-breaking and crime among adults, and increasing need for penal institutions.

b. Physical Weakening of the Race

The large proportion of men, among those selected by draft for World War service, who were disqualified partly or totally because of physical defects, was doubtless due in part to the premature child labor of those rejected, if we may judge by the similar experience of

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1 Nearing, Scott, The Solution of the Child-Labor Problem, p. 53

England in the Boer War. After physical standards for selecting men for service had been lowered substantially beneath those first set, in order that too large a number might not be rejected, 29.59% of the men selected by draft were partly or totally disqualified, after being tested physically. A large number in addition to these had to be rejected after they reached the training camps.[1]

c. Illiteracy

The 1920 Census revealed that in this country nearly 5,000,000 people over 10 years of age were illiterate --- 6% of the population. Of this number, over 3,000,000 were native born. The Census also showed that 1,400,000 children between the ages of 7 and 14 were not attending school.

The areas of the most illiteracy, the most child labor, and the least school attendance are almost identical, as the following tabulation shows:[2]

| 10 states with greatest percentage of child labor | 10 states with greatest percentage of illiteracy | 10 states with lowest percentage of school attencance |
|---|---|---|
| Mississippi | Louisiana | Louisiana |
| South Carolina | South Carolina | Arizona |
| Alabama | Mississippi | Georgia |
| Georgia | Alabama | Mississippi |
| Arkansas | New Mexico | Alabama |
| North Carolina | Georgia | Arkansas |
| Rhode Island | Arizona | Florida |
| Texas | North Carolina | Texas |
| Louisiana | Virginia | Virginia |
| Tennessee | Tennessee | Tennessee |

d. Unemployment

Unemployment is always a difficult problem, but is especially acute in times of depression. Child labor causes unemployment of adults to the extent that children hold jobs that should be filled by adults.

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1 American Labor Year Book, 1919-1920, p. 116
2 National Child Labor Committee, op. cit., p. 17

The Census of 1920 showed that there were 2,773,506 child workers 10-17 years of age, inclusive.[1] If in the present industrial depression, all of the children between these ages, or better, all children through the age of 18, were in school, a great many positions would be available for adults, wages would be higher, since the competion of child laborers lowers adult wages, and best of all, the young people would be receiving the education that would prepare them to be more highly skilled workers when they should finally enter industry. If the children were in school, the responsibility would be upon the schools to give a vocational training broad enough to enable their graduates to do several related types of work, and thus to better protect themselves against changes in industry and resulting unemployment.

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1 See Appendix, Table IV

## Part II

## THE SOLUTION OF THE CHILD-LABOR PROBLEM

A. Attempts to Regulate Child-Labor Problem by Legislation

1. State Legislation

a. Early Attitude toward Child Labor and Early Child-Labor Conditions

Throughout Colonial history and extending well into the period of national history, child labor was very common and was regarded as necessary economically, that children might help to support themselves and be taught a trade, and as wise morally, to keep them from idleness. This was before the day of free public schools for all, and the work of children as apprentices was educational, as factory work is not today. Although child labor existed on a large scale and hours were long, the conditions of work were such that work was not obviously harmful, and many of the colonial and later the state laws provided that the children should be given some education.

b. Changing Conditions Brought about by the Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution, beginning in the northern states early in the nineteenth century, radically changed the conditions of child labor. With the Industrial Revolution came a demand for cheap child labor to run machines, the breaking down of the apprentice system, and the removal of the restrictions surrounding the employment of children. In the early days of this country's national existence, the development of industries was the chief concern --- not the welfare of children. It was not realized that the work of children under the industrial system was under essentially different circumstances than under the domestic system. The evil results of child labor were not known.

c. Recognition of Child Labor as an Abuse which the State Should Regulate

Prior to 1830 there was no effective regulation of child labor, but the period from 1830 to 1860 shows some gains, legislation attacking

successively the evils of illiteracy among working children, the long hours of labor, and the employment of children under a certain age, the minimum being placed by the various states at from ten to thirteen years. By 1860 some public recognition of the abuses of child labor and of the right of the State to correct those abuses, had developed in the north.[1]

d. Trends in State Legislation from 1860 to the Present Time

Legislative gains were slowly made. It was difficult for the states to pass good legislation and more difficult still for them to enforce it, because it was easy for industry to lobby in state legislatures to get what it wanted. Captains of industries could always threaten to remove their enterprises to a neighboring state with lower standards, if they were interfered with, and the fear that they would do so kept many a legislature inactive as far as improving child-labor conditions was concerned.

Yet as time went on the following definite legislative trends showed themselves and improvement was made along these lines:

1. Setting a minimum age for the employment of children, which very gradually tends to be pushed upward;
2. Requiring an educational qualification for children entering upon employment, such as the completion of a certain grade or the ability to pass a test of reading and writing ability, sometimes figuring ability;
3. Requiring that children be physically fit to undertake work, with a further trend toward requiring a physician's examination;
4. Restricting the hours of child labor;
5. Prohibiting night work for children between certain hours;
6. Restricting the employment of children in dangerous or morally hazardous occupations.

2. Action of National Agencies and the Federal Government

a. Recognition of Child Labor as a National Problem

The recognition of child labor as a national problem is evidenced by the inclusion of separate statistics for the employment

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1 Children's Bureau, Child Labor Facts and Figures, p. 5

of children for the first time in the Census of 1870. From that time on the belief grew gradually that the problem should be attacked by some method as a national one. It was seen that no state could restrict to its own territory the results of child labor within its borders, and that states with high standards were at a disadvantage economically because of the competition from other states where the standards were relatively low. That the states collectively were making no progress in reducing child labor is shown by the Census percentages of the employment of children from 1880 to 1910, as follows:[1]

| Year | No. of children 10-15 yrs. of age gainfully employed | Proportion of total child population |
|---|---|---|
| 1880 | 1,118,356 | 16.8% |
| 1890 | 1,503,771 | 18.1% |
| 1900 | 1,750,178 | 18.2% |
| 1910 | 1,990,225 | 18.4% |

The reason for this was doubtless the fact that while the North and the central states were making some progress in the reduction of child labor, the South was going through economic stages which the North had already passed through.

b. Part Taken by Organized Labor in the Child-Labor Movement

(1) Within the States Organized labor is responsible for the earliest investigations of child-labor conditions that were made in several of the states, and was constantly active in trying to secure shorter hours for children, as well as for all workers, and compulsory education for all children. Early in the century Samuel Gompers made the statement

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1 See Appendix, Table VII

that there was not a child-labor statute on the statute books of any state in the Union that was not put there with the cooperation of organized labor.[1]

(2) On a National Plane As attempts were made to organize labor on a national scale the national conventions of workingmen and the newly-organized national unions took the stand that the labor of children under a certain age should be prohibited. In 1881 the American Federation of Labor in its first constitution declared itself in favor of the complete abolition of the labor of children under 14. The Federation has consistently advocated uniform legislation among the states in prohibiting the labor of children under fourteen years of age. Much credit must be given to organized labor for stimulating national interest in the fight against child labor.[2]

(3) Little Recognition of the Part Played by Organized Labor in the Child-Labor Movement However, little recognition appears to have been given to organized labor for the part it has played in the child-labor movement. Perhaps this is because the action of organized labor often proved to be as much of a hindrance as a help, because the child-labor reformers had to face the contention that the movement was all in the interests of the laboring classes, backed by the forces of organized labor.

c. Work of the National Consumers' League

The National Consumers' League began its work about 1890 in an effort to educate and arouse the shopping public to a consideration of young workers. For nearly fifteen years before the formation of the

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1 Gompers, Samuel L., "Organized Labor's Attitude toward Child Labor", in Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science, Vol. 27, #2, p. 79

2 Ensign, Forest C., School Attendance and Child Labor, p. 246

National Child Labor Committee the League published material and strove for legislation to protect child laborers, working through state branches. It has never wholly ceased its work for child-labor reform, and is still performing an important service for the cause. Florence Kelley has been for years an outstanding figure in the work of the National Consumers' League and in the work of child-labor reform.

d. Contribution of the National Child Labor Committee

(1) Its Purpose The National Child Labor Committee was formed in 1904 to serve as a clearing house for information on child labor, to investigate conditions, educate public opinion, and promote legislation. It was incorporated by act of Congress in 1907.

(2) Its Work in Bringing about Federal Action for the Welfare of Children

The Committee attacked first the abuses centered about the employment of very young children in the textile mills of the South, of breaker boys and mule drivers in the coal mines, and of boys in the glass factories of the Ohio Valley and New Jersey. Remedial effort was next directed against the employment of messenger boys, street venders, and children in canneries and in agricultural work. Much still remains to be done to regulate the employment of children in these latter ways, particularly in agriculture, where almost nothing has been done to regulate child labor.

In 1906 the Committee aided in securing an appropriation of $50,000 for a federal investigation by the Department of Commerce and Labor of the conditions surrounding the employment of women and children in the United States. It played a large part also in the securing of the act of Congress establishing the Children's Bureau.

e. Government Investigation of the Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners

(1) Scope of the Investigation

The investigation, authorized by Congress in 1906, was carried

on from 1907 to 1909, mostly in the states east of the Mississippi, for lack of funds to carry on a more complete investigation, and because these were the states that were more fully developed industrially.

The following studies are of especial interest to the student of child labor:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cotton Textile Industry | (Vol. 1) |
| Glass Industry | ( " 3) |
| Beginnings of Child Labor Legislation in Certain States | ( " 6) |
| Conditions under which Children Leave School to Go to Work | ( " 7) |
| Juvenile Delinquency and its Relation to Employment | ( " 8) |
| Causes of Disease Among Woman and Child Cotton Mill Operatives | ( " 14) |
| Hookworm Disease Among Cotton Mill Operatives | ( " 17) |
| Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners | |

(2) Findings of the Investigation

The investigation revealed the long working hours of children at occupations which had little value in training them for industrial efficiency, the frequently undesirable working conditions, the cutting short of education.

(a) Causes of Child Labor and School-Leaving

Two intensive studies were made in connection with the government report to determine to what extent school-leaving and child employment were due to actual necessity. Though the number of cases studied was too small to give more than tentative conclusions, it was found that about 30% of the children were working, in part at least, because of necessity that could not be met in any other way. Of course there was overlapping of reasons, but it was found that almost half the children were dissatisfied with school, and in the majority of cases they were at work, not because of economic necessity, but because of indifference

or hostility toward the schools on the part of children or their parents, or both.[1]

(b) No Opportunity to Learn a Trade

In connection with the study of reasons for school-leaving, it was found that most of the children who went to work took the first position that came along. Only 6.9% of 620 children secured positions on first going to work which offered a chance to learn a trade.[2]

(c) Instability of Child Workers

1.8 was the average number of positions held by 611 children for whom the average length of time working was 12.2 months. In over half the cases the children received higher wages after the change, but many of the children did not change with this reason in mind, but for reasons that were unjustifiable, or for no reason at all, except that doubtless they were tired of working in one place.[3]

(d) Employers' Estimates as to Education Needed for Working Children

50.6% of the employers interviewed on this matter said that no education was needed by the larger number of their employees in order for them to do the best work. Nearly all agreed that for the best interests of the children themselves they should have as much as possible.[4]

(3) Charges of Dishonesty against the Bureau of Labor in Connection with the Report

In 1913 Thomas R. Dawley, Jr., published a book called "The Child That Toileth Not", which purported to be the story of his work as a government investigator in connection with the study of working conditions of women and children. He claimed that the book gave the results of two years' work "paid for by the people", but suppressed by the Bureau of Labor

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1 Vol. 7, Conditions under which Children Leave School to Go to Work, p.46-52
2 Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners, p.33
3 Vol. 7, p. 178-185
4 Ibid., p. 240

because its findings were not in harmony with the ideas which the Commissioner of Labor wanted the report to support. Instead of finding that work in the cotton mills was harmful to children, Dawley pictured it as a blessing to them, and gave as proof the fact that the children and their parents were much better off as employees of the factories than they were on their barren "one-horse farms" among the mountains.

Other government investigators found that only a small part of the employees of southern cotton mills, particularly the smaller ones, had actually come from the mountains. However, Dawley was given permission to go as government investigator into the homes of the mountain whites in the Carolinas and Tennessee. The comparison of the workers in their mountain homes and in the factories is one body of findings which Dawley claims was suppressed, and his book was written to tell his story. As a matter of fact, an investigation of the condition of the people in their mountain homes has no place in a report on the condition of working people.

Dawley's book is very interesting and readable, and certainly makes a contribution in revealing the wretched condition of the people on the mountain farms. However, to show that they were better off in the factories, Dawley used worn-out arguments, including the stock arguments of the employers, to the effect that it was necessary for children to work to help out their families, to support themselves, to learn a trade, etc. The book, though "not entitled to scientific recognition within the field of labor problems"[1], yet does make a

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1 American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 19, p. 94

contribution in revealing"the need of the section for industrial and agricultural education".[1] Whether anything was done to meet the need revealed the writer does not know.

Dawley makes charges of dishonesty, graft, and inefficiency against the Commissioner of Labor and other Labor Bureau high-salaried workers. There seems to have been little truth in any of his charges. He probably became disgruntled because he could not get the Labor Bureau officials to agree with him that the cotton mills were practically an unmixed blessing to the people of the South.

Dawley states that he was recommended to the general counsel of one of the largest manufacturing organizations in the country (probably James A. Emery of the National Association of Manufacturers), who at first offered him legal assistance in getting a fair presentation of his case before a committee of investigation and then went back on his word, stating that he was known as an attorney for the manufacturers.[2] This seems to be a rather clear indication that Dawley had little evidence to support his case and his charges of graft.

(4) Evaluation of Government Report

The investigation was made scientifically, and the report served as a valid source of information on child-labor conditions for students of the problem. The investigation undoubtedly aided in bringing about the establishment of the Children's Bureau and later the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. The report, however, is too lengthy and too academic to be of use to people who do not have time to

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1 Independent, Vol. 74, p. 701
2 Dawley, Thomas R., Jr., The Child That Toileth Not", p. 489

dig out the facts. The findings of the various studies should have been summarized immediately after the studies were completed, but the summary volume was not published until 1915, eight years after the investigation was started.

f. Work of the Children's Bureau

(1) Purpose

The Children's Bureau was created by act of Congress in 1912. Its purpose is the investigation and reporting of all matters pertaining to child life and welfare, including child labor, which is specifically mentioned in the purpose as set forth in the act of incorporation.[1] The Bureau is charged with the task of providing exact data and giving it publicity.

(2) Studies of the Industrial Division

In addition to the investigations of child welfare in general, which are carried on by the various departments of the Bureau and which have their effect upon child labor, the Bureau has an Industrial Division, which has published many important studies of child-labor conditions and child-labor laws of the states. Among the studies of child-labor conditions are studies of shrimp, oyster, vegetable and fruit canneries, studies of children in various types of agricultural work, studies of children in street trades, tenement house work, and studies of industrial accidents to children and of the industrial instability of children.

The Child Labor Division of the Bureau was created to administer the first federal child-labor law, and did so in a very efficient manner.

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1 Children's Bureau, The Children's Bureau, p. 1

This will be discussed in connection with the law itself.

(3) War-Time Efforts for the Protection of Children

(a) Back-to-School Drive. In the closing year of the War a back-to-school drive was begun in connection with Children's Year activities. With the cooperation of women's organizations all over the country, the Bureau succeeded through its drive in keeping many children school, and in returning to school others who had left. The importance of children's scholarships was stressed, the purpose of the scholarships being to give financial assistance to families for which the problem of keeping children in school was difficult. The back-to-school drive was regarded as a war-time measure to keep children from entering industry prematurely, because of the unusual war-time demand for industrial workers. It was also thought that the return of the children to school would help to solve the unemployment problem which was expected with the return of the soldiers.

(b) Washington Conference of 1919 In 1919 the so-called Washington Conference was held. Actually the conference was a series of regional conferences on child welfare. The Washington conference, also, had been planned as a war-time measure for the protection of children, and many government child-welfare workers from foreign countries were invited to attend. The conference set up standards for the entire field of child-welfare work, including standards for the employment of children. These standards, though quite advanced, have undoubtedly had some effect in securing better child-labor legislation. The discussions of the conference also had some importance in bringing on the campaign for the child-labor amendment.

g. Federal Legislation

(1) Need for Federal Legislation

Early in the 20th century the National Child Labor Committee and other organizations interested in the welfare of children felt the need of federal legislation to supplement the legislation of the several states. It was seen that no state could confine within its borders the evil results of the excessive labor of children, as both working children and adults passed freely from one state to another. It was also clear that the state with high standards and with the will to enforce them might be injured by neighboring states with lower standards, as capital tended to go into the states where the standards were lowest. Federal legislation was intended to establish uniformity among the states in legislation on certain phases of the problem, or rather to set up standards below which no state could go.

(2) Keating-Owen Law

The first federal child-labor law was the culmination of a ten-year period of agitation for the national regulation of child labor, with frequent attempts to get a bill passed by Congress. The Keating-Owen Law was passed in 1916, to go into effect September 1, 1917. It used Congress' power to regulate interstate commerce to forbid the employment of children under fourteen in factories,[1] the employment of children between 14 and 16 in factories[1] more than eight hours a day and between 7 P.M. and 6 A.M., and the employment of children under 16 in mines and quarries. The law made it a misdemeanor to put into interstate commerce products made in violation of these standards.[2]

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1 Also manufacturing establishments, mills, canneries, and work-shops.
2 Children's Bureau, Child Labor Facts and Figures, p. 8

Three days before the law went into effect an injunction was issued preventing its enforcement in the Western District of North Carolina. The case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, which nine months later declared the law unconstitutional in a 5-4 decision in the case of Hammer v. Dagenhart. The majority of the court held that the law regulated intrastate manufacturing rather than interstate commerce, and hence was a violation of the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution. It was intimated that there was nothing harmful or immoral about the commerce in the products of child labor, whereas other laws which had kept certain articles from interstate commerce rested upon the character of the subjects involved.[1]

(3) Child Labor Tax Law

In 1918 a second federal law was passed, setting up the very same standards for the protection of children. This time the law placed a tax of 10% upon the annual net profits of establishments employing children in violation of the standards. This law was passed as a part of the revenue bill of 1918, and went into effect in April, 1919.[2]

About a month later the act was declared unconstitutional by the same judge who had issued the injunction on the first federal law, in the Western District of North Carolina. The case was again taken to the Supreme Court, but the law was in operation, everywhere except in this district of North Carolina, for three years, pending the decision of the Supreme Court. The Court declared this law unconstitutional also, this time with only one dissenting opinion. The justices held that it was an abuse of the federal taxing power to use it to

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1 Waite, Edward F., The Child-Labor Amendment, p. 182
2 Children's Bureau, Child Labor Facts and Figures, p. 9

regulate the employment of children in accordance with the standards set up by the act.[1]

(4) Opposition of Southern Cotton Manufacturers to the Federal Laws

Both laws were undoubtedly declared unconstitutional in the Western District of North Carolina, and later in the Supreme Court, because of the opposition of the cotton manufacturers of North Carolina and the South. In North Carolina at the time, the state law permitted children of twelve to work eleven hours a day in mills, and also at night. When the mill owners could not ship their cotton goods into other states to be made into garments, they had the case brought up in the North Carolina court. The case was actually sued out by a poor cotton mill operative, Dagenhart, whose children were working in violation of the federal standards, and were to be dismissed.[2]

(5) Administration of Keating-Owen Law by Children's Bureau

The first law was administered by the Children's Bureau, the second, by the Division of Internal Revenue of the Treasury Department. The administration in both cases was efficient.

The Children's Bureau in administering the first law sought the co-operation of state labor officials charged with the enforcement of state child-labor laws. A conference of these officials was held during the summer of 1917, attended by representatives from 28 states and the District of Columbia. By vote of those present all state officials charged with the enforcement of state child-labor laws were commissioned to assist in the enforcement of the federal act. This

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1 Waite, E.F., The Child-Labor Amendment, p. 182
2 Pollak, Mrs. Francis D., "Manufacturers as Educators", in The Nation, January 4, 1928

of course helped to cut down the expense of administering the act, and also gave federal officials the benefit of the experience of state workers. Throughout the nine months that the act was in force the cooperation of state officials was substantial, beginning in some states before the federal act went into effect, with a campaign for the education of parents and employers.[1] Because of the co-operation of state and federal workers, only seventeen federal inspectors were used in the administration of the law, though more inspectors could easily have been used and enforcement made correspondingly more effective, had the appropriation for enforcement been larger.

(6) Results of the Federal Laws and of their Being Declared Unconstitutional

The result of both federal laws, during the period for which they were in force, was a noticeable increase in the amount of protective state child-labor legislation. The federal laws undoubtedly stimulated both those states with standards lower than those of the federal laws, and states whose standards were substantially the same or higher. Employers, during the time that the laws were in force, could no longer appeal to the low standards of other states, because all states were obliged to come up to the federal minimum standards. As a result of the laws being declared unconstitutional, there was a falling-off in state legislative activity for child laborers.[2]

The marked decreased in the number and in the proportion of children working in 1920, as compared with 1910, have already been discussed,[3] though it is difficult to tell just how far federal legislation

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1 Children' Bureau, Administration of the First Federal Child-Labor Law, p.54
2 Johnsen, Julia E., Selected Articles on Child Labor (1926), p. 59
3 Cf. p. 3-4

was effective in bringing about these changes. The decrease in the number of children ten to fifteen years of age engaged in mining was undoubtedly due almost wholly to federal legislation.[1]

h. Proposed Amendment and its Defeat

(1) The Need for the Amendment

The friends of child-labor reform had supposed that Congress had the power to regulate child labor, and they believed that the two federal laws as drafted would stand the test of constitutionality. Since they had been declared unconstitutional, the next step seemed to be an amendment to the Constitution to give Congress the power which it had been thought to possess.

There was no reason to suppose that the decreases in child labor indicated by the 1920 Census were due to any extent to unaided state legislation. Furthermore, after the federal laws were declared unconstitutional, it soon became evident that many of the states were again allowing children to work under standards lower than those of the federal laws.

(2) The Amendment as Submitted to the States

The question of an amendment to the Constitution was before Congress in various forms for more than a year before the amendment was finally submitted to the states in 1924. As submitted, the amendment read as follows:

> "Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age.
>
> "Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article, except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress."[2]

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1 See Appendix, Table VIII

2 Children's Bureau, Child Labor Facts and Figures, p. 9

It will be noted that, though this is a child-labor amendment, it says nothing about "children" nor about their "employment". The word "child" was not used because it has different meanings in the laws of different states. Even in those states in which "child" for legal purposes is equivalent to "minor", the age of majority varies from eighteen to twenty-one. The word "employment" was not used because the experience of the states and also of the national government under the former federal laws had shown that "employment" could be interpreted to mean being on the pay rolls of a concern, and the use of this word had not prohibited the work of children helping their parents in factories, or doing industrial home work, though not on the pay roll of any concern. [1]

Many eminent lawyers pronounced the amendment well-drafted as it was submitted to the states.

(3) Friends of the Amendment

Among the national organizations favoring the amendment were: The National Child Labor Committee, the American Association of University Women, American Federation of Labor, American Federation of Teachers, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, National Education Association, and the National League of Women Voters.

(4) Opposition to the Amendment

The opponents included a not very active group of those who traditionally opposed any interference with states' rights; many manufacturing and business interests, chief among which were the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States, and southern textile manufacturers; some farmers' organizations; and many parents. For purposes of effective opposition, some of these opponents grouped

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Pollak, Mrs. Francis D., op. cit.

themselves together, as the National Committee for the Rejection of the Twentieth Amendment, with headquarters at Washington.

(a) National Association of Manufacturers

There is little doubt but that the amendment was defeated chiefly because of the efforts of the National Association of Manufacturers, which included the southern textile manufacturers. This organization fought the amendment from the time it was first proposed in Congress to the time it had been definitely defeated by the states, through propaganda and paid advertising in the newspapers and periodicals of the country, and through circulation of its pamphlets in public libraries.

The National Association of Manufacturers has been characterized as a "belligerent propaganda association primarily engaged in opposing legislation sought by the American Federation of Labor".[1] The Association has been hostile, not only toward radical labor agitation, which it has tried to stifle, but toward child-labor reform as well. In 1908 it adopted a resolution condemning "the existence of agitation under the guise of moral crusade, such as child labor .... reform".[2] The attitude of the Association toward the problem of poverty, related to the problem of child labor as one of its causes, is that "the cause of poverty is not traceable to private property in the means of production and distribution, but the causes lie in the physical, mental or moral weakness of the poverty-stricken individuals".[3]

One bit of propaganda carried on by the Manufacturers was the publication of elaborate charts based on the Census statistics of 1920,

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1 Bonnett, Clarence E., Employers' Associations in the United States", p. 33
2 Ibid., p. 348
3 Ibid., p. 350

by means of which they showed that there had been such decreases in child labor that there was no need for an amendment to the Constitution.[1] However, the Manufacturers' Association completely overlooked the comments of the Census itself as to the probable reasons for the decreases in child labor, and the extent to which they might be apparent only. In fact, it is characteristic of the Association in its "research" work to set forth only half of the truth, which like all half truths, may sound very convincing.

(b) Success of the Opponents of the Amendment in Arousing Fears and Prejudices to Defeat the Amendment

The Manufacturers' Association and other opponents of the amendment succeeded, not in setting forth in a fair way the reasons for opposition to the amendment, but in arousing the fears and prejudices of people, and thus defeating the amendment. They played up the old arguments of invasion of states' rights and Bolshevism, and the newer argument of invasion of parents' rights.

That the invasion of states' rights was not as important an issue as the Manufacturers would have had people believe is shown by the fact that many who on other matters customarily took that stand were not active in opposing the amendment. Concerning the invasion of parents' rights, it need only be said that the superiority of the right of the state over the rights of parents is recognized in all the states. Many people were led to believe that if the states approved the amendment Congress might pass legislation which would make it impossible for any child to help his parents at odd jobs.

Farmers were particularly aroused, because they were told that Congress would make it impossible for their children to help out on the farm. The truth of the matter is that, though those interested in

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1 National Association of Manufacturers, Facts about Child Labor

child-labor reform knew that it was badly needed for many child agricultural laborers, they were not contemplating the regulation of agricultural child labor, as it was thought to be practically impossible at the time. They certainly did not desire to prohibit the work of children entirely on the home farm, but only such work as would be detrimental to the children.

(5) The Real Issue Involved in the Amendment

The real issue involved was whether Congress should be given the power to legislate in conjunction with the states, for the benefit of the children of the states and of the United States.

Though it may usually be better for the states to take care of their local problems themselves, and thus develop initiative and interest in state problems on the part of their people, in doing this there is the possibility that states may invade the rights of other states and of the United States as a whole. Not so much has been said about this side of the question as about the invasion of the rights of the individual state. The states have the Bill of Rights of the Constitution to protect them, and they had the provision of the amendment that their rights would not be interfered with, except as necessary to give effect to the legislative enactments of Congress.

What Congress would doubtless have done would have been to set minimum standards for the protection of children, below which the states should not have been allowed to go --- just what it had already tried to do. The states would have had all the "right" in the world to go as far beyond those standards as they wanted. It seems that what the Manufacturers were really objecting to, under the guise of invasion of states' rights, was the taking away of the opportunity they were having

of exploiting the children within the states.

The opponents of the amendment argued that the real success of any child-labor legislation that might be passed under the amendment would depend upon many other kinds of laws than direct prohibition of the work of children, and that the problem of passing such laws was left to the states. This also was a half truth, because educators and others have been trying for years to secure appropriations and legislation by which the federal government may aid the states in their problems of education. Measures which have become law and proposals which have failed to pass Congress may or may not have been wise, but undoubtedly ways can be found for federal and state governments to co-operate with each other for the benefit of the children.

(6) Rejection of the Amendment by the States

The campaign against the amendment was so effective that the amendment was overwhelmingly defeated by the states, 34 states having rejected it by January, 1926.[1] Among the states rejecting the amendment were southern states which had large percentages of their children engaged in gainful occupations. Five states have ratified the amendment, as follows: Arkansas, Arizona, California, Montana, Wisconsin.[2]

(7) Present Status of the Amendment

It is believed by some of those favoring child-labor reform that states which have voted adversely against the amendment may reverse themselves at any time, and that, since there is no time limit for the acceptance of the amendment, it may still be accepted. However, the

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1 Johnsen, Julia E., Selected Articles on Child Labor (1926),p.3
2 Children's Bureau, Child Labor Facts and Figures, p. 9

defeat of the amendment seems to indicate that at least for the present, the road to better conditions lies through action by the states and continuance of the educational campaign.

i. Legislative Program of the National Association of Manufacturers

Having fooled the public quite generally into thinking that the proposed amendment to the Constitution should be defeated as a dangerous invasion of the rights of parents and the states, the Manufacturers have come forward since the defeat of the amendment with a piece of humbuggery called "The Program of the National Association of Manufacturers for the Further Protection of Employed Children 14 and 15 Years of Age". The program sets up legislative standards for the regulation of the entrance of boys and girls of these ages into industry, and their work in industry. The program is cleverly written up in such a way that it suggests, to the person who does not know what standards the states have reached, that the Manufacturers are sincerely interested in raising state standards and are really doing a piece of "missionary" work in trying to put over the program in the states through their state organizations.

Actually, if the Association is able to put over its program in the states, it will mean a lowering of the standards of many states to the level of those now not far from the bottom.[1] The program can also be used as a piece of bluff to make people, ignorant of developments in the field of child-labor legislation, think that the Manufacturers are not opposed to state regulation of child labor, and are sincerely working in the interests of protecting boys and girls. Having opposed

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1 National Consumers' League, The Manufacturers' Child-Labor Program, p. 9

national legislation on the grounds of invasion of states' rights, it would not be well for the Manufacturers to be found opposing state regulation of child labor.

## B. REMOVING CHILD LABOR BY REMOVING ITS CAUSES

### 1. The Causes of Child Labor

The preceding section has dealt almost wholly with efforts to regulate the child-labor problem by legislation. Wise legislation, effectively enforced, can regulate child labor for the benefit of child workers, but legislation unaided can never remove the child-labor problem. The removal of child labor can be accomplished only by removing the causes of child labor and providing for children the substitutes for child labor --- play, education, and profitable children's work.

In considering the causes of child labor it is important to distinguish between real causes, and the so-called causes, which are often the rationalizings of parents, employers, and the general public as to what are the causes of child labor.

#### (a) The So-Called Causes of Child Labor

##### (1) Child Labor a Result of the Factory System

Much literature on child labor explains the labor of children as a result of the factory system. Actually it is nothing of the sort. Child labor has always existed, and though the factory system has increased the demand for child labor, it has not caused child labor. The demand for cheap child labor cannot create the supply, nor send children into the factories, in the absence of the real causes of child labor.

(2) Need of Employers

The need of employers, for cheap child labor to run machines, cannot create or cause child labor, any more than the factory system can. As a matter of fact employers do not need child labor, and if they did this would not be a cause of child labor.

(3) The Necessity of the Child to Learn a Trade

The child's need to learn a trade has been given over and over as a cause of child labor. It has indeed been a factor in increasing the amount of child labor, as it was thought wise for the children to go to work in order to be taught a trade. But it is not a cause for child labor, because children can and should be taught a trade elsewhere than in factories or other places of employment, unless such employment can become more educative than it is today, through the cooperation of industrial and educational leaders. Under present conditions it is practically impossible for a child to learn a trade through factory employment.

(4) Greed

The greed of children, parents, employers and the general public have also been given among the causes of child labor. The greed of employers and of stockholders for dividends may make child labor conditions intolerable, but it cannot put the children into places of employment in the first place, in the absence of other causes. Greed is a human failing that is found among all classes of society, rich and poor, but no form of greed ever puts the children of the wealthy into factories or fields as child laborers. Therefore it must be something else besides greed that passes by the children of the rich and puts those of the poor to work.

(5) Ignorance and Indifference

Ignorance and indifference have also been given as causes for child labor --- the ignorance and indifference of children themselves, and of parents, employers and society in general, as to the child's real needs and the way of meeting them. Like greed, ignorance and indifference as to the real needs of children are found among rich and poor alike, though of course they are more likely to be found among the poor. But the children of the poor become the child laborers, and the children of the rich are passed by, and so it must be something besides ignorance and indifference that really causes child labor.

(b) The Real Causes of Child Labor: Economic Necessity and Lack of Adaptation of Schools to Children

The only way to discover the causes of child labor is,not to theorize about them, but to make actual investigations of the reasons given by children and their parents for the entrance of the children into industry.

A number of such studies have been made. An entire volume of the government investigation of the conditions of working women and children was devoted to a study of the reasons why children leave school and go to work.[1] Of course there was much overlapping of causes, but it was found that actual necessitywas a cause for going to work in about 30% of the cases studied. It was also found that in the majority of the cases the children were at work, not because of economic necessity, but because of indifference or hostility to the schools on the part of the children, their parents, or both.

Many other investigations have since been made of the reasons why children leave school and go to work. Such investigation "in scores or urban communities seems to be have established beyond a doubt the fact

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1 Cf. p. 40

that real economic necessity is responsible for .... about one-third of the withdrawals from school to go to work."[1]

The writer personally thinks that poverty is rather more important than the investigations referred to have indicated. In the absence of appreciation for an education or of a strong desire to remain in school, "near-poverty" is as effective a cause of children's going to work as is actual necessity, and it should be recognized that families should have more than the barest necessities of life if the children are to remain in school and benefit by it as they should. Children need to go to school well-fed, healthy, and suitably dressed. Older children, particularly, need a little spending money, so that they will not need to be regarded as belonging to a different social class, by their companions from more fortunately-situated homes. In the absence of clear-cut appreciation of the value of education, many boys and girls in the early 'teens leave school, perhaps not because they particularly dislike school, but in order that they may work to secure better clothes and more spending money for themselves.

Since practically everywhere in the United States young children are supposed to be attending school, it may clarify the consideration of the causes of child labor if we restate them as reasons for children leaving school to go to work.

> About one-third of the children who leave school do so because of absolute economic necessity. In other cases "near-poverty" causes them to go to work.
>
> Approximately two-thirds leave school because of causes which may be classified as attitude of children and their parents toward the schools.

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Fuller, Raymond G., Child Labor and the Constitution, p. 136

Many things come under the classification of attitude toward the schools, such as dislike for the school, dislike for the teacher, lack of appreciation of the value of education, expulsion for disciplinary reasons, inability to do the required work (which usually causes dislike of school), and the traditional attitude toward education of the social class to which the child belongs. Many working class people believe that nothing is to be gained by having their children remain in school. Back of this attitude is the failure of the schools to adapt themselves to the children of all the people. Much of the curriculum of the schools today has been handed down from the days when education was intended, not at all for the children of the working classes, but merely for the children of the well-to-do class, which possessed sufficient leisure to profit by a cultural type of education.

Studies of the reasons for children going to work need to be supplemented by more recent findings as to the importance of mental ability in causing children to leave school. Many studies have been made which show that the average mental ability of young working children is below that of most children of the same age who remain in school, and also that greater percentages of the children who leave school to go to work are retarded before leaving than of those who remain in school. Of course retardation of children does not necessarily mean lack of mental ability. It may be due to many other causes, such as dislike of the curriculum, poor attendance, poor physical condition, unfortunate emotional habits, home environment, etc., or to a combination of any of these. Yet it has been shown that the mental ability of most young working boys and girls is sufficient to have enabled most of them to have completed high school. Therefore

lack of mental ability alone is not the cause for their leaving school, as many are today claiming.[1]

2. Economic Approach to a Solution of the Child-Labor Problem

Since the economic cause of school-leaving was found to be of less importance than the lack of adaptation of schools to children, we may well consider first the economic solution of the problem of child labor.

There are three methods which are important in removing economic factors and considerations as they are causes of child labor, as follows:

(a) Persuading parents and children that it is economically important for the children to remain in school;
(b) Persuading employers and the consuming public that child labor is uneconomical;
(c) Removing poverty as a cause of premature school-leaving by
  (1) Fairer distribution of the profits of labor --- the permanent solution;
  (2) Aid to families unable to keep their children in school without such aid --- the temporary method.

a. Persuading Parents and Children that it is Important for the Children to Remain in School.

They should be told how few positions are available for young boys and girls, and that those that are available pay such small wages or offer so little chance for advancement that it is not worthwhile to leave school to take them.

In one city it was found that workers who had left school at fourteen had earned less money in four years than an equal group of children who had left at sixteen had earned in two years. The instability of the younger children and their drifting from job to job

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1 Fuller, Raymond G., Fourteen Is Too Early, p. 92

are of course factors in their low earning power.[1]

A number of other studies show similar findings, and it is probable that as a foundation for real promotion and advancement, the work that children do between fourteen and sixteen has little value. Both parents and children should be acquainted with these facts before the children leave school.

b. Persuading Employers and the Consuming Public that Child Labor Is Uneconomical.

In a few instances employers have seen that the work of children fourteen and fifteen is uneconomical because of the tendency of children of these ages to shift jobs readily, and for other reasons. For the most part, however, employers seem to have been too short-sighted to see that child labor does not pay. Consumers have been equally short-sighted in failing to see that child labor does not pay. Not only the instability of the child workers makes their work uneconomical from a merely business standpoint, but also the high accident rate among young workers.

c. Removing Poverty as a Cause of Premature School-Leaving

(1) Fairer Distribution of the Profits of Labor Necessary to Remove Poverty Permanently

Removing poverty permanently involves a fairer distribution of the profits of labor, but this does not necessarily need to be brought about directly through labor agitation. The schools themselves can in time bring about a fairer distribution of wages by producing more highly-skilled, better-educated workmen, who will demand and receive higher wages. It is, however, outside of the subject under discussion

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1 Fuller, Raymond G., The Meaning of Child Labor, p. 103

to consider methods for removing poverty permanently.

(2) Temporary Methods of Removing the Economic Factor as a Cause of School-Leaving

Removing the economic factor as a cause of the premature labor of children involves temporary methods of relief for some families that are unable to keep their children in school unless they are aided financially. By temporary methods I do not mean hit-or-miss methods, according to which much charity is still handed out.

(a) "Mothers' Pensions" Many of the states now have on their statute books laws for public aid to mothers who for one reason or another are obliged to support their small children themselves. Such grants of aid are usually called "mothers' pensions". Though these laws vary greatly in their provisions in the various states, they can usually be administered in such a way that the families receiving aid are not pauperized, but accept the aid regularly given in a dignified manner, for the benefit of the children. The amounts given are usually small sums given monthly for the support of each child. A certain amount of supervision is maintained over the families receiving the aid. Usually it is recognized that the mother's chief contribution is in bringing up her children well, and it is usually desired that she shall remain at home with them.

(b) Children's Scholarships Another important method of helping to keep the children in school is the method of granting small weekly or monthly "scholarship" payments to children to help parents who need financial assistance in allowing their children to remain in school. The scholarship plan has been tried on a small scale in many cities and towns, and has proven effective when coupled with the supervision of the progress of

the child by having him report frequently to a person appointed by the scholarship committee. The scholarships are usually given on the same basis as scholarships in higher education --- the basis of merit, that is, they are given to children who show ability and promise of profiting by being kept in school. The scholarship payments are sometimes considered to take the place of the wages that the child might earn if he left school and went to work; sometimes they are sufficient to cover the minimum needs of the family if the child is to remain in school.

Several writers have seen the importance of scholarships that will retain in school the brightest children who might otherwise be forced through economic pressure to go to work. Several studies of the mental ability of young working or continuation school children have shown that there is usually a small percentage of exceptionally bright children among them, some of whom were forced to leave school because of economic pressure.

It has been said in several instances that the need for children's scholarships was probably small, but if the work of school supervision of the placement of children in positions is developed, it is likely that greater numbers of children will be found who would profit by remaining in school, and who need scholarships in some instances to enable them to do so.

3. Educational Approach to a Solution of the Child-Labor Problem

It seems to be fashionable today to believe that popular education is a failure, and that such large numbers of our people are inferior mentally, even if not actually feeble-minded, that it is not worth while to try to educate them. Many employers today are loudly

proclaiming this. The "Program" of the National Association of Manufacturers suggests that this is the case when it claims that educational authorities should have the power to "release individuals incapable of further education".[1]

It is not true that popular education has failed or that it must fail in accomplishing its purpose. To the extent that popular education has failed in the past, the reason has been in the main that it has tried to subject all children to the same curriculum, regardless of individual differences. Furthermore, the educational system of the United States until recent years has not really tried to do much more than give the "tool" subjects in the "grammar" grades, leaving most of the content subjects to a four-year high school curriculum, never intended, as originally used, for the children of the masses, but intended to prepare for higher institutions of learning those students from the well-to-do classes who were likely to have sufficient leisure in later life to profit by a cultural type of education. It is no wonder that in the past most children have failed to enter high school to take up this traditional curriculum, or that if they entered, many of them dropped out before getting very far. American education has been based on the false theory of democracy --- "when God failed to make all individuals equal, let popular education endeavor to make up the deficiencies". All were to be given an equal opportunity, conceived to mean subjecting them all to the same curriculum. It is not at all strange that, with this curriculum content and educational method, large numbers of children have proven to be uneducable.

Probably most writers on the educational solution of the

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National Consumers' League, National Education and Employment Program of the National Association of Manufacturers

child-labor problem would agree that the following four things are important, if not essential, in solving the child-labor problem by substituting education for child labor: (a) Educational placement and adaptation of curriculum to the needs and capacities of children; (b) Vocational guidance; (c) Supervision of employed boys and girls; and (d) Training parents to know the needs of their children.

a. Educational Placement and Adaptation of Curriculum to Needs

By educational placement is meant the placing of children at the very start of their school life into such classes that the curriculum and methods used may be adapted to their capacities and needs. Of course psychological tests must be used to determine this placement, which can become increasingly accurate as time goes on, and tests are developed and improved. The fact that there are many imperfections in the tests that have been developed to date, and the fact that many errors are made in the measurement of intelligence, is no argument against the use of psychological testing, and the fact that there are great possibilities in the use of psychological tests should be sufficient argument for their use --- to determine probably more accurately than in any other way what the general and special capacities of children are, and therefore what curriculum they should be given.

Probably large numbers of "motor-minded" children will be found, who should have a curriculum with a large content of manual and vocational subject matter. These children should not be looked upon as inferior to those who can profit by the more abstract educational method of learning from books --- some of the latter might not measure up very well in some of the tests of motor ability.

Of course a great deal of flexibility must be used in

psychological testing, and the dividing lines between the different curricula must not be so rigid that children cannot go from one curriculum to another at any time in the early grades that a mistake is found to have been made in the placing of the child.

Care must also be taken in building curricula that too much of the vocational content is not put in. This would be particularly apt to happen in communities where there were large numbers of parents whose education had been limited, and who belonged mainly to the laboring classes. It should be remembered that high mental ability and capacity of profiting by relatively abstract methods of education are as likely to be found among the children of these classes as among the children of the well-to-do and better-educated.

Placement must begin at the very start of the educational process, to be most effective, with opportunities for the replacement of children, when necessary. Early placement would tend to abolish retardation, and to prevent disciplinary problems from developing, as well as wrong attitudes toward school on the part of the pupils, caused by their being subjected to the wrong curriculum.

b. Vocational Guidance

Vocational guidance should be preceded by educational guidance. It is really a part of educational guidance, though it is usually considered separately. Vocational guidance and vocational studies to fit the child for the particular vocation that he is to follow should not begin too soon. In a general way, however, vocational guidance may begin at the start of the child's school life, in the sense that his mental ability, as discovered by intelligence tests, should indicate tentatively what general groups of occupations he is fitted for and what

groups of occupations he is not fitted for.

Somewhere in the program of vocational guidance the child should be taught the requirements and opportunities ofvarious occupations, the kind of training that certain schools and courses offer, and the local opportunities for work.

In an adequate program of vocational guidance opportunity should be given to all pupils for a wide variety of try-out experience. The final decision should then be made by the child himself, not by the vocational counsellor.

About all the vocational guidance that is given in most school systems is a short talk to those passing from one school unit to another, about the choosing of the course of study in the school about to be entered, in line with capacities and interests. Real vocational guidance programs have been developed in Boston, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, and other cities. In many other school systems the teaching of "vocational civics" helps at least some of the children in the ways intended by vocational guidance. This is often done, however, by teachers who know little about the subject, and who teach the course in addition to a full schedule of other subjects.

c. Placement and Supervision of Employed Boys and Girls

The placement of boys and girls is often considered to be a part of the vocational guidance program. The two are actually separate. If the vocational guidance task has been well performed, the placement is less difficult. If no vocational guidance work has been done, the placement bureau can do a little in this direction, but only a little. It should, however, attempt to return boys and girls to school rather than send them to work, whenever they will profit by further education.

Scholarships should be provided to help needy children to remain in school. In one city it was found that unless scholarships were provided, it was useless to try to have the children of really poor parents remain in school, no matter how much the children might want to remain.[1]

Both Minneapolis and Detroit, and doubtless other cities in which the work is carried on, have greatly reduced the numbers of young people between fourteen and sixteen years of age who are working, by means of the placement bureau work, and attempts to persuade children to remain in school. Sometimes children are persuaded to enter industrial schools, where they may receive training to meet their needs.[2]

At the present time in all the large cities boys and girls turn to the public employment agencies when they want jobs. The school system should undertake the work of placement. Public employment offices, organized primarily to make money, probably encourage greater labor mobility, because the more shifting of jobs there is, the greater the profit of the agencies.

There should be one centralized placement bureau in the school system, in order that employers may be helped to co-operate with the bureau workers, by giving notice of their needs, without dealing with several offices in the process of doing so.

The issuance of employment certificates to boys and girls going to work is a proper part of the work of the placement bureau, when such a bureau exists.

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1 Children's Bureau, Supervising Children in their Choice of Occupation and Supervising the Working Child, p. 8

2 Bureau of Education, Public School Supervision of Employed Boys and Girls, p. 7 and p.9

Placement of children is only one part of the task. There should also be follow-up of those placed, to make sure that they are getting along satisfactorily, and if not, to help them to get started rightly, replacing them if necessary. Minneapolis and Detroit have undertaken the supervision of employed young people, as well as their placement in positions. There are undoubtedly other cities which have undertaken this work, but the number is small. A good comparison to placement and supervision of boys and girls is the selling of machines and the work of following up the sales afterward to make sure that the machines are working properly. Many firms dealing in machinery and appliances of various kinds employ a staff to travel around constantly, checking up on the performance of the machines, conferring with purchasers and operators, and constantly seeking suggestions for the improvement of the machines. The school needs to follow up its product in the same way, for the sake of the boys and girls, and it would also be very good for the school itself if it attempted to do this.

The commonest method for follow-up, as well as the least efficient, is the alumni reunion, with arrangement made for personal conferences with faculty members. The difficulty is that only the successful workers are present --- the failures stay away. The most efficient method of supervision is the actual visitation several times a year of the young people in their places of work, and the holding of conferences with both the young people and their employers, during the visit. The cost would range from about $1.50 to about $4 for four visits per year per young person working, depending upon whether the establishments visited employed only one or two young people per

establishment, or many, so that time could be saved in visitations.[1]

Doubtless the cost as estimated would seem prohibitive to many people, but if the town or city can afford to spend, we will say, from $40 to $90 per year for each pupil in the public schools, why can it not also afford this small amount per pupil for those who have left the schools before they should, and for whom the responsibility of the school should not cease, up to the age of at least eighteen? It is really a matter of the community's seeing the need, and of the service selling itself by showing that it fullfils needs.

The director of placement and supervision, as well as the director of educational and vocational guidance (one person will probably work in both capacities), should rank with other special supervisors of the public schools. There are 2,395,443 boys and girls fourteen to seventeen years of age, inclusive, working in the United States. Is not the guidance, placement, and supervision of these boys and girls, most if not all of whom are capable of remaining in high school to complete a course adapted to their capacities, as important as the teaching of art or music in the public schools, with special supervisors? The answer is so obvious that in seems quite reasonable to expect development in this direction.

Continuation Schools Attendance of working young people at "continuation schools" is so closely related to the supervision of working boys and girls that it needs some consideration. Continuation

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1 Bureau of Education, op. cit., p. 5

schools are really special classes for working boys and girls, meeting four to eight hours a week, according to the requirement of the state law, this time being taken out of the working week and being considered, usually, as a part of the legal working hours. The work is usually of a vocational nature, though sometimes it takes up the elementary subjects, in the case of retarded pupils who have left school to go to work.

In 20 states the establishment of continuation school and attendance at them is compulsory to 16 or 18 years of age; in 6 states the establishment of schools is optional with school authorities, but attendance is compulsory, where they have been established; 21 states and the District of Columbia have no compulsory provisions for establishment of schools or attendance at them.[1]

Where established, continuation schools have proven effective in helping young people to adjust themselves to their work, and in giving vocational training more or less definitely related to the particular line of work.

d. Training Parents to Know the Needs of their Children

(1) The Need for Parent Education

Parents have often been among the worst offenders against their children, in most cases ignorantly. This has been due not only to their attitude toward the public school and the failure to appreciate the value of education, but also to their lack of knowledge of the requirements for child health, education and welfare, and their ignorance of the fact that there are seldom any real opportunities in industry for young boys and girls. If a real attempt is made to solve the child-labor problem

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Children's Bureau, Child Labor Facts and Figures, p. 52

through the educational approach, parents, as well as children, need to be educated.

(2) Methods of Parent Education

Probably more information has been given to parents regarding child hygiene than regarding other phases of child welfare. Something can be done and is being done to teach parents the value of education for boys and girls, by means of parent-teacher associations, and through the arranging of special school visiting days in connection with exhibits of school work, etc. The enrolling of parents in courses in child welfare is also important, under whatever auspices given. Such courses should also be available for all students in normal schools and colleges. Such methods as these, however, reach comparatively few parents, and do not reach most of those for whom the need for education is greatest.

Home Visitation The visiting-teacher movement provides a much more effective method for reaching those parents who are most likely to work injuries upon their children through ignorance of their needs.

The visiting teacher should be trained in all the general phases of child education and welfare, and should be the sort of person who can win the confidence of parents and children, and appreciate their difficulties. By understanding the difficulties of children as they become apparent in school life, and by helping to remove them, the visiting teacher can aid in preventing retardation of children in school, and thus help to solve the problem of elimination from school long before the children reach the legal age for going to work. The visiting teacher can also learn something of the economic needs of families, and their effect upon the work of children in school, and the question of their

remaining in school. These economic needs can be reported to the proper authorities for action. Home visitation can help the schools to adjust themselves to the needs of the community, as revealed. In the case of children approaching the legal age for going to work, the visiting teacher can perform a service by seeing that parents and children understand the situation, in respect to the advantages and disadvantages of going to work, as against those of remaining in school.

e. Making Schools Attractive to Children

In addition to these especially applicable methods for solving the child-labor problem through the educational approach, anything that can be done to make the schools more efficient, more practical, and more attractive to the beneficiaries, will help to solve the child-labor problem by keeping the children in school. Compulsory attendance laws, important as they are, are negative methods. They put "a fence around the school to prevent the children from jumping out". It is far better to make the school so attractive that the children will want to stay in it, and not drop out as soon as they have reached legal working age.

# S U M M A R Y

## A. PROBLEM OF CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY

From the time the first federal child-labor law was passed to the time the proposed child-labor amendment to the Constitution was definitely defeated by the states, the subject of child labor was before the public quite constantly. Today little is heard about child labor, and probably many people do not know that there is such a problem in the United States. Yet the demand for the labor of children is probably increasing, due to the simplification of machinery that is constantly going on, the restriction of immigration, which cuts down the supply of cheap labor, and the side-spread belief that popular education is a failure, and that many children may as well be at work as at school.

In 1920 there were over a million children between the ages of ten and sixteen who were working, or one out of every twelve children of these ages. Over half of these children were in agricultural pursuits. Of the number in manufacturing and mechanical industries, the textile industries claimed the largest number, nearly 55,000. The southern states had the largest percentages of children working, though not the largest numbers.

The 1920 Census statistics showed marked decreased in the number of children ten to fifteen years of age who were working. It is probably true that the large decrease in the number of children working in agriculture (54.8%) was largely due to the fact that the 1920 Census was taken in January when agriculture was practically at a standstill, while the 1910 Census was taken in April. The other decreases shown were probably due to some extent to better child-labor

legislation, especially to the enforcement of the federal child-labor tax law which was in operation in 1920. However, changes in the basis of enumeration for the 1920 Census make it difficult to say to what extent the decreases were real and to what extent they were apparent only.

Some of the worst forms of child labor today are factory work, particularly in cotton mills of the unprogressive type and in states where the hours of labor are long; tenement home work, which it is practically impossible to regulate; industrialized agriculture and canning, the former being practically unregulated and the latter being difficult to regulate, even when laws exist; and street trades, which are particularly bad in their effects upon the morals of children.

Yet conditions are much better than formerly. In most of the states today children do not go to work in factories and stores before the age of fourteen, the usual working day is eight hours, and night work is usually prohibited. Working conditions have improved somewhat, and protections of many sorts are now thrown around working children, such as the requirements in about half of the states that children complete a specified school grade before going to work, and have a certificate of physical fitness given by a physician. In many states children are prevented by law from working in certain dangerous or morally hazardous occupations. Nearly all of the states have workmen's compensation statutes, but in only three states are they compulsory for all employments. Minors are further injured by the fact that their compensation is usually based upon their present earnings, instead of upon probable future earnings. Fifteen states exclude illegally-employed minors from all compensation, though seven states are

sufficiently progressive to provide more than the regular amount of compensation for illegally-employed minors. This acts as a penalty to employers for the illegal employment of minors.

The cost of accidents and compensation, to consumers, and to children whose life prospects may be ruined by severe accidents, makes it evident that the employment of minors, especially in dangerous occupations, is extremely uneconomical.

Minimum wage laws for both adults and children are important. For adult men they would tend to prevent the entrance of children into industry prematurely because of economic necessity, but in the United States they are wholly unknown for adult men, though in a few states they apply to working women. Minimum wage laws for minors tend to prevent the exploitation of minors by employers, but in only eight states are there such laws in operation, and in most of these they do not apply to boys over eighteen.

The states vary greatly in the effectiveness of their certificating systems and their inspection provisions. These means of supervision are essential to the enforcement of child-labor laws, but in some states provisions are very inadequate.

Although some of the worst evils of child labor have been removed, in reality we have only compromised with the child-labor problem. Child labor should be abolished, not compromised with, but before this can be done it needs to be reinterpreted for the public mind through a long educational campaign. It needs to be seen as a part of the larger problem of securing for all children in the United States the opportunities that they should have for development. Parents and others should be taught the value to the child of the substitutes for child labor --- play, work, and schooling, all considered as part of a

broad educational program. If children are to have the opportunities that they need for development, it is important that they be in school during the psychologically and educationally important years of fourteen to eighteen.

Child-labor reformers do not aim to abolish all work for children, but they insist that the distinction between children's work and child labor be clearly made. Children's work in wholesome surroundings, considered as a part of their education, is necessary. On the other hand, child labor is the premature and excessive labor of children which deprives them of a fair start in life, in terms of health and educational preparation.

Child labor often affects the health of children adversely, cuts out opportunities for education and play life, and makes of the child a low-standard laborer, who will hand on his low standards of life to his children. Thus the results of child labor in this generation become the causes of child labor in the next. One of the worst results of child labor is the breaking of the child workers away from parental authority, with results which are often disastrous to themselves.

Society has to bear the problems of physical weakening of the race, illiteracy, and unemployment --- problems caused largely by child labor. Other problems caused in part by child labor are political graft and corruption, which are allowed to exist by ignorant or indifferent citizens, labor difficulties, the dependence of individuals and families for support upon society, and thus the increasing need for charities; delinquency and crime.

## B. HISTORY OF ATTEMPTS TO REGULATE CHILD LABOR

Child labor has always existed, but under the domestic system it was not obviously harmful in its effects. In Colonial history and during the early period of national history, child labor was thought to be essential economically and morally.

The Industrial Revolution radically changed the conditions of the employment of children. There was a breaking down of the apprentice system and a removal of the restrictions surrounding the employment of children. In the early days of this country's separate national existence the development of industries was the chief concern --- not the welfare of children.

The period from about 1830 to the time of the Civil War was a period during which the evils of child labor were recognized by the states, and although the opposition to any reform was strong, the right of the state to correct the abuses of child labor gradually came to be recognized, in the northern industrial states. The southern states came up against the problem of child labor at a later date, during the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. Child-labor reformers in the South are having the same fight against harmful child labor as reformers in the North had somewhat earlier, though of course the problem is not solved in the North any more than in the South. There still remains plenty to be done in both North and South to bring about better legal regulation of child labor and better enforcement of laws. The problem is more acute in the South, but is by no means confined to the South, or to any one section of the country.

The period from the close of the Civil War to the defeat of the proposed child-labor amendment to the Constitution, may be called a period of national recognition of the evils of child labor, and of

attempts to regulate those evils on a national scale. The fact that the states were not dealing adequately with the problem was recognized more and more as time went on, and it was seen that one state could not have low standards without affecting other states, and it was felt that the national government should set minimum standards below which the states could not go. The federal laws of 1916 and 1919 attempted to set minimum standards, but both were declared unconstitutional. Amending the Constitution to allow the national government to regulate child labor was also tried, and likewise it proved to be impossible.

The National Association of Manufacturers and southern cotton mill interests have been the strongest foes of national regulation of child labor. Southern cotton mill owners secured the injunctions against the federal laws in North Carolina, and fought the cases through to the Supreme Court, where they won out. Cotton textile interests were also very influential in the defeat of the proposed amendment to the Constitution, along with the National Association of Manufacturers, in which they were represented. The amendment was defeated, not because people and state legislators really knew what the issue was about and sincerely believed that federal regulation would be undesirable, but because the National Association of Manufacturers succeeded in arousing the fears and prejudices of people for the purpose of defeating the amendment and advancing their own interests.

The Manufacturers have promptly begun to advance their own interests by attempts to put over a legislative "Program for the Further Protection of Boys and Girls", which will mean the lowering

of standards in existence in many states, if it is put over. The Manufacturers know that they can more easily deal with state than with national legislators, and more easily crush out attempts to put through progressive legislation.

## C. THE NEED FOR SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO THE CHILD-LABOR PROBLEM

For many years the need has been felt for more scientific approaches to the child-labor problem, based upon researches to discover the definite causes and results of child labor. A great deal of work has been done along this line. The government investigation of the condition of woman and child wage earners was one of the first comprehensive investigations of the child-labor problem. An entire volume was devoted to a study of the causes of school-leaving and going to work. This study found, and later studies have verified the fact that the reasons for leaving school to go to work were economic pressure in about one-third of the cases, and attitude of parents and children toward the schools, caused by lack of adaptation of the schools to the children, in the remaining two-thirds of the cases.

The present period of child-labor reform is placing much emphasis upon removing the causes of child labor, and solving the child-labor problem by providing the educational substitutes for child labor. Although it seems to be popular today to claim that popular education is a failure, the chief reason for whatever failure has existed seems to be that the traditional curriculum and methods of education have not fitted large numbers of children, if indeed they have met the needs of any children. This difficulty can be removed, though progress may prove to be somewhat slow.

The following are methods that not only improve education, but also help to solve the child-labor problem: 1. Educational and vocational guidance of children and adaptation of curriculum to the needs of varying types of children; 2. Placement and supervision of employed boys and girls; 3. Training of parents in order that they may recognize the needs of their children and may appreciate what the schools are doing to meet those needs; 4. The improvement of schools and making them so attractive that they will hold their students, even after they have reached the legal working age. Placement work in particular should aim to hold boys and girls in school when they can profit by it. These methods for improving education are being tried out in many school systems today.

The economic factor in school-leaving must also be removed, if children are to remain in school and are to be able to profit by the schooling given them. Children and their parents, employers and the public in general need to be convinced that child labor is uneconomical, and that school is much better for boys and girls. The facts to convince them of this seem to be available. Scholarships have been provided in some instances to help parents who would otherwise find it difficult or impossible to allow their children to remain in school. The need for scholarships will probably be greater as the age for compulsory education is pushed upwards, until such a time as the heads of families are paid wages that are adequate to provide for the needs of their children, including their education.

If popular education is to succeed, all classes and all people must see the possibilities and needs of education, and all must cooperate in making successful. The statement that popular education is a failure is being made on all sides, and the schools should accept the challenge and prove the statement to be untrue, if it can be done.

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# APPENDIX

## 1920 CENSUS STATISTICS ON CHILD LABOR

TABLE I

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF CHILDREN OF EACH SEX 10-15 YEARS OF AGE IN EACH GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS, AND IN ALL NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS [1]

| Occupation | Children | | Boys | | Girls | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution |
| Total | 1,060,858 | 100.0 | 714,248 | 100.0 | 346,610 | 100.0 |
| Agricultural pursuits, forestry, and animal husbandry | 647,309 | 61.0 | 459,238 | 64.3 | 188,071 | 54.3 |
| Farm labor (home farm) | 569,824 | 53.7 | 396,191 | 55.5 | 173,633 | 50.1 |
| Farm labor (away from home) | 63,990 | 6.0 | 51,000 | 7.1 | 12,990 | 3.7 |
| Other pursuits | 13,495 | 1.3 | 12,047 | 1.7 | 1,448 | 0.4 |
| Nonagricultural pursuits | 413,549 | 39.0 | 255,010 | 35.7 | 158,539 | 45.7 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries | 185,337 | 17.5 | 104,335 | 14.6 | 81,002 | 23.4 |
| Clerical occupations | 80,140 | 7.6 | 59,633 | 8.3 | 20,507 | 5.9 |
| Trade | 63,368 | 6.0 | 49,234 | 6.9 | 14,134 | 4.1 |
| Domestic and personal service | 54,006 | 5.1 | 16,082 | 2.3 | 37,924 | 10.9 |
| Transportation | 18,912 | 1.8 | 15,617 | 2.2 | 3,295 | 1.0 |
| Extraction of minerals | 7,191 | 0.7 | 7,045 | 1.0 | 146 | (2) |
| Professional service | 3,465 | 0.3 | 1,979 | 0.3 | 1,486 | 0.4 |
| Public service (not elsewhere classified) | 1,130 | 0.1 | 1,085 | 0.2 | 45 | (2) |

[1] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, vol. 4, Population, Occupations, p. 480. Washington, 1923.
[2] Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

1 Children's Bureau, Child Labor Facts and Figures, p. 14

TABLE II

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 10-15 YEARS OF AGE IN SELECTED NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS [1]

| Occupation | Children 10 to 15 years of age engaged in non-agricultural pursuits | |
|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per cent distribution |
| All nonagricultural pursuits | 413,549 | 100.0 |
| Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls [2] | 48,028 | 11.6 |
| Servants and waiters | 41,586 | 10.1 |
| Salesmen and saleswomen (stores) [3] | 30,370 | 7.3 |
| Clerks (except clerks in stores) | 22,521 | 5.4 |
| Cotton-mill operatives | 21,875 | 5.3 |
| Newsboys | 20,706 | 5.0 |
| Iron and steel industry operatives | 12,904 | 3.1 |
| Clothing-industry operatives | 11,757 | 2.8 |
| Lumber and furniture industry operatives | 10,585 | 2.6 |
| Silk-mill operatives | 10,023 | 2.4 |
| Shoe-factory operatives | 7,545 | 1.8 |
| Woolen and worsted mill operatives | 7,077 | 1.7 |
| Coal-mine operatives | 5,850 | 1.4 |
| All other occupations | 162,722 | 39.3 |

[1] Children in Gainful Occupations at the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, p. 30. Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1924.
[2] Except telegraph messengers.
[3] Includes clerks in stores.

1 Children's Bureau, op. cit., p. 16

# TABLE III

## NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF CHILDREN OF EACH SEX 10-15 YEARS OF AGE IN EACH GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS: 1920 and 1910[1]

| SEX AND GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS. | 1920 | | | | | | 1910 | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 10 to 15 years. | | 10 to 13 years. | | 14 and 15 years. | | 10 to 15 years. | | 10 to 13 years. | | 14 and 15 years. | |
| | Number. | Per cent distribution. | Number. | Per cent distribution. | Number. | Per cent distribution. | Number. | Per cent distribution. | Number. | Per cent distribution. | Number. | Per cent distribution. |
| BOTH SEXES. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **All occupations** | **1,060,858** | **100.0** | **378,063** | **100.0** | **682,795** | **100.0** | **1,990,225** | **100.0** | **895,976** | **100.0** | **1,094,249** | **100.0** |
| Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry | 647,309 | 61.0 | 328,958 | 87.0 | 318,351 | 46.6 | 1,432,428 | 72.0 | 800,135 | 89.3 | 632,293 | 57.8 |
| Extraction of minerals | 7,191 | 0.7 | 647 | 0.2 | 6,544 | 1.0 | 18,090 | 0.9 | 2,358 | 0.3 | 15,732 | 1.4 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries | 185,337 | 17.5 | 9,473 | 2.5 | 175,864 | 25.8 | 260,932 | 13.1 | 32,746 | 3.7 | 228,186 | 20.9 |
| Transportation | 18,912 | 1.8 | 1,899 | 0.5 | 17,013 | 2.5 | 20,800 | 1.0 | 2,679 | 0.3 | 18,121 | 1.7 |
| Trade | 63,368 | 6.0 | 17,213 | 4.6 | 46,155 | 6.8 | 70,700 | 3.6 | 17,519 | 2.0 | 53,181 | 4.9 |
| Public service (not elsewhere classified) | 1,130 | 0.1 | 153 | (1) | 977 | 0.1 | 537 | (1) | 63 | (1) | 474 | (1) |
| Professional service | 3,465 | 0.3 | 621 | 0.2 | 2,844 | 0.4 | 3,566 | 0.2 | 578 | 0.1 | 2,988 | 0.3 |
| Domestic and personal service | 54,006 | 5.1 | 12,172 | 3.2 | 41,834 | 6.1 | 112,171 | 5.6 | 32,635 | 3.6 | 79,536 | 7.3 |
| Clerical occupations | 80,140 | 7.6 | 6,927 | 1.8 | 73,213 | 10.7 | 71,001 | 3.6 | 7,263 | 0.8 | 63,738 | 5.8 |
| MALE. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **All occupations** | **714,248** | **100.0** | **258,259** | **100.0** | **455,989** | **100.0** | **1,353,139** | **100.0** | **609,030** | **100.0** | **744,109** | **100.0** |
| Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry | 459,238 | 64.3 | 221,409 | 85.7 | 237,829 | 52.2 | 1,022,251 | 75.5 | 549,271 | 90.2 | 472,980 | 63.6 |
| Extraction of minerals | 7,045 | 1.0 | 598 | 0.2 | 6,447 | 1.4 | 18,019 | 1.3 | 2,350 | 0.4 | 15,669 | 2.1 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries | 104,335 | 14.6 | 6,737 | 2.6 | 97,598 | 21.4 | 151,178 | 11.2 | 21,950 | 3.6 | 129,228 | 17.4 |
| Transportation | 15,617 | 2.2 | 1,682 | 0.7 | 13,935 | 3.1 | 18,497 | 1.4 | 2,534 | 0.4 | 15,963 | 2.1 |
| Trade | 49,234 | 6.9 | 16,369 | 6.3 | 32,865 | 7.2 | 57,833 | 4.3 | 16,714 | 2.7 | 41,119 | 5.5 |
| Public service (not elsewhere classified) | 1,085 | 0.2 | 136 | 0.1 | 949 | 0.2 | 527 | (1) | 62 | (1) | 465 | 0.1 |
| Professional service | 1,979 | 0.3 | 325 | 0.1 | 1,654 | 0.4 | 2,056 | 0.2 | 342 | 0.1 | 1,714 | 0.2 |
| Domestic and personal service | 16,082 | 2.3 | 4,880 | 1.9 | 11,202 | 2.5 | 24,356 | 1.8 | 9,010 | 1.5 | 15,346 | 2.1 |
| Clerical occupations | 59,633 | 8.3 | 6,123 | 2.4 | 53,510 | 11.7 | 58,422 | 4.3 | 6,797 | 1.1 | 51,625 | 6.9 |
| FEMALE. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **All occupations** | **346,610** | **100.0** | **119,804** | **100.0** | **226,806** | **100.0** | **637,086** | **100.0** | **286,946** | **100.0** | **350,140** | **100.0** |
| Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry | 188,071 | 54.3 | 107,549 | 89.8 | 80,522 | 35.5 | 410,177 | 64.4 | 250,864 | 87.4 | 159,313 | 45.5 |
| Extraction of minerals | 146 | (1) | 49 | (1) | 97 | (1) | 71 | (1) | 8 | (1) | 63 | (1) |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries | 81,002 | 23.4 | 2,736 | 2.3 | 78,266 | 34.5 | 109,754 | 17.2 | 10,796 | 3.8 | 98,958 | 28.3 |
| Transportation | 3,295 | 1.0 | 217 | 0.2 | 3,078 | 1.4 | 2,303 | 0.4 | 145 | 0.1 | 2,158 | 0.6 |
| Trade | 14,134 | 4.1 | 844 | 0.7 | 13,290 | 5.9 | 12,867 | 2.0 | 805 | 0.3 | 12,062 | 3.4 |
| Public service (not elsewhere classified) | 45 | (1) | 17 | (1) | 28 | (1) | 10 | (1) | 1 | (1) | 9 | (1) |
| Professional service | 1,486 | 0.4 | 296 | 0.2 | 1,190 | 0.5 | 1,510 | 0.2 | 236 | 0.1 | 1,274 | 0.4 |
| Domestic and personal service | 37,924 | 10.9 | 7,292 | 6.1 | 30,632 | 13.5 | 87,815 | 13.8 | 23,625 | 8.2 | 64,190 | 18.3 |
| Clerical occupations | 20,507 | 5.9 | 804 | 0.7 | 19,703 | 8.7 | 12,579 | 2.0 | 466 | 0.2 | 12,113 | 3.5 |

[1] Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

1 - 14th Census of the United States. Population: 1920. Occupations of Children, Table 5, p. 9

6

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TABLE IV

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 10-17 YEARS OF AGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY YEARS OF AGE[1]

| Age | Number | % of Total Population of Specified Age |
|---|---|---|
| 10-17 | 2,773,506 | 17.0 |
| 10-13 | 378,063 | 4.4 |
| 14 | 257,594 | 12.6 |
| 15 | 425,201 | 22.8 |
| 16 | 778,957 | 39.5 |
| 17 | 933,691 | 50.3 |

1 - 14th Census of the U.S., Vol. 4, Population - Occupations, Chap. 5, Table I.

# TABLE V

## NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 10-15 YEARS OF AGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS BY SEX, AGE, AND POPULATION CLASSES: 1920 and 1910 [1]

| CENSUS YEAR, SEX, AND CLASS OF POPULATION. | AGGREGATE 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE. | | | 10 TO 13 YEARS. | | | 14 YEARS. | | | 15 YEARS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total number. | Engaged in gainful occupations. | | Total number. | Engaged in gainful occupations. | | Total number. | Engaged in gainful occupations. | | Total number. | Engaged in gainful occupations. | |
| | | Number. | Per cent. | | Number. | Per cent. | | Number. | Per cent. | | Number. | Per cent. |
| **1920** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Both sexes** | **12,502,582** | **1,060,858** | **8.5** | **8,594,872** | **378,063** | **4.4** | **2,046,265** | **257,594** | **12.6** | **1,861,445** | **425,201** | **22.8** |
| Native white—Native parentage | 7,576,827 | 527,176 | 7.0 | 5,213,136 | 193,042 | 3.7 | 1,242,573 | 127,848 | 10.3 | 1,121,118 | 206,286 | 18.4 |
| Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage | 3,020,339 | 175,060 | 5.8 | 2,111,080 | 17,506 | 0.8 | 471,171 | 44,784 | 9.5 | 438,088 | 112,770 | 25.7 |
| Foreign-born white | 413,261 | 38,692 | 9.4 | 253,322 | 4,770 | 1.9 | 78,040 | 9,234 | 11.8 | 81,899 | 24,688 | 30.1 |
| Negro | 1,450,996 | 317,231 | 21.9 | 989,218 | 161,452 | 16.3 | 247,696 | 75,143 | 30.3 | 214,082 | 80,636 | 37.7 |
| Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other | 41,159 | 2,699 | 6.6 | 28,116 | 1,293 | 4.6 | 6,785 | 585 | 8.6 | 6,258 | 821 | 13.1 |
| Indian | 35,503 | 2,359 | 6.6 | 24,287 | 1,217 | 5.0 | 5,886 | 503 | 8.5 | 5,330 | 639 | 12.0 |
| Chinese | 2,411 | 158 | 6.6 | 1,569 | 36 | 2.3 | 436 | 43 | 9.9 | 406 | 79 | 19.5 |
| Japanese | 3,067 | 169 | 5.5 | 2,143 | 38 | 1.8 | 426 | 35 | 8.2 | 498 | 96 | 19.3 |
| All other | 178 | 13 | 7.3 | 117 | 2 | 1.7 | 37 | 4 | ..... | 24 | 7 | ..... |
| **Male** | **6,294,985** | **714,248** | **11.3** | **4,336,009** | **258,259** | **6.0** | **1,033,297** | **174,683** | **16.9** | **925,679** | **281,306** | **30.4** |
| Native white—Native parentage | 3,830,708 | 390,244 | 10.2 | 2,637,668 | 144,605 | 5.5 | 631,720 | 95,919 | 15.2 | 561,320 | 149,720 | 26.7 |
| Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage | 1,516,275 | 107,410 | 7.1 | 1,061,824 | 13,150 | 1.2 | 236,786 | 27,117 | 11.5 | 217,665 | 67,143 | 30.8 |
| Foreign-born white | 207,432 | 22,926 | 11.1 | 127,961 | 3,269 | 2.6 | 39,191 | 5,488 | 14.0 | 40,280 | 14,169 | 35.2 |
| Negro | 719,314 | 191,877 | 26.7 | 494,192 | 96,470 | 19.5 | 122,059 | 45,751 | 37.5 | 103,063 | 49,656 | 48.2 |
| Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other | 21,256 | 1,791 | 8.4 | 14,364 | 765 | 5.3 | 3,541 | 408 | 11.5 | 3,351 | 618 | 18.4 |
| Indian | 17,918 | 1,496 | 8.3 | 12,260 | 707 | 5.8 | 2,965 | 333 | 11.2 | 2,693 | 456 | 16.9 |
| Chinese | 1,524 | 144 | 9.4 | 937 | 32 | 3.4 | 286 | 41 | 14.3 | 301 | 71 | 23.6 |
| Japanese | 1,725 | 141 | 8.2 | 1,108 | 25 | 2.3 | 271 | 31 | 11.4 | 346 | 85 | 24.6 |
| All other | 89 | 10 | ..... | 59 | 1 | ..... | 19 | 3 | ..... | 11 | 6 | ..... |
| **Female** | **6,207,597** | **346,610** | **5.6** | **4,258,863** | **119,804** | **2.8** | **1,012,968** | **82,911** | **8.2** | **935,766** | **143,895** | **15.4** |
| Native white—Native parentage | 3,746,119 | 136,932 | 3.7 | 2,575,468 | 48,437 | 1.9 | 610,853 | 31,929 | 5.2 | 559,798 | 56,566 | 10.1 |
| Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage | 1,504,064 | 67,650 | 4.5 | 1,049,256 | 4,356 | 0.4 | 234,385 | 17,667 | 7.5 | 220,423 | 45,627 | 20.7 |
| Foreign-born white | 205,829 | 15,766 | 7.7 | 125,361 | 1,501 | 1.2 | 38,849 | 3,746 | 9.6 | 41,619 | 10,519 | 25.3 |
| Negro | 731,682 | 125,354 | 17.1 | 495,026 | 64,982 | 13.1 | 125,637 | 29,392 | 23.4 | 111,019 | 30,980 | 27.9 |
| Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other | 19,903 | 908 | 4.6 | 13,752 | 528 | 3.8 | 3,244 | 177 | 5.5 | 2,907 | 203 | 7.0 |
| Indian | 17,585 | 863 | 4.9 | 12,027 | 510 | 4.2 | 2,921 | 170 | 5.8 | 2,637 | 183 | 6.9 |
| Chinese | 887 | 14 | 1.6 | 632 | 4 | 0.6 | 150 | 2 | 1.3 | 105 | 8 | 7.6 |
| Japanese | 1,342 | 28 | 2.1 | 1,035 | 13 | 1.3 | 155 | 4 | 2.6 | 152 | 11 | 7.2 |
| All other | 89 | 3 | ..... | 58 | 1 | ..... | 18 | 1 | ..... | 13 | 1 | ..... |
| **1910** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Both sexes** | **10,828,365** | **1,990,225** | **18.4** | **7,259,018** | **895,976** | **12.3** | **1,848,122** | **473,498** | **25.6** | **1,721,225** | **620,751** | **36.1** |
| Native white—Native parentage | 6,322,926 | 1,022,561 | 16.2 | 4,251,358 | 473,786 | 11.1 | 1,072,925 | 242,360 | 22.6 | 998,643 | 306,415 | 30.7 |
| Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage | 2,669,259 | 265,245 | 9.9 | 1,776,845 | 44,676 | 2.5 | 458,950 | 76,427 | 16.7 | 433,464 | 144,142 | 33.3 |
| Foreign-born white | 433,515 | 63,603 | 14.7 | 283,603 | 8,821 | 3.1 | 74,727 | 17,943 | 24.0 | 75,185 | 36,839 | 49.0 |
| Negro | 1,362,821 | 634,332 | 46.5 | 920,718 | 366,525 | 39.8 | 234,548 | 135,702 | 57.9 | 207,555 | 132,105 | 63.6 |
| Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other | 39,844 | 4,484 | 11.3 | 26,494 | 2,168 | 8.2 | 6,972 | 1,066 | 15.3 | 6,378 | 1,250 | 19.6 |
| **Male** | **5,464,228** | **1,353,139** | **24.8** | **3,665,779** | **609,030** | **16.6** | **935,974** | **324,500** | **34.7** | **862,475** | **419,609** | **48.7** |
| Native white—Native parentage | 3,205,203 | 771,904 | 24.1 | 2,153,822 | 356,830 | 16.6 | 546,834 | 184,709 | 33.8 | 504,547 | 230,365 | 45.7 |
| Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage | 1,339,593 | 176,042 | 13.1 | 893,169 | 34,105 | 3.8 | 230,976 | 50,574 | 21.9 | 215,448 | 91,363 | 42.4 |
| Foreign-born white | 218,372 | 36,159 | 16.6 | 143,539 | 6,015 | 4.2 | 37,764 | 10,293 | 27.3 | 37,069 | 19,851 | 53.6 |
| Negro | 679,995 | 365,709 | 53.8 | 461,435 | 210,554 | 45.6 | 116,639 | 78,103 | 67.0 | 101,921 | 77,052 | 75.6 |
| Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other | 21,065 | 3,325 | 15.8 | 13,814 | 1,526 | 11.0 | 3,761 | 821 | 21.8 | 3,490 | 978 | 28.0 |
| **Female** | **5,364,137** | **637,086** | **11.9** | **3,593,239** | **286,946** | **8.0** | **912,148** | **148,998** | **16.3** | **858,750** | **201,142** | **23.4** |
| Native white—Native parentage | 3,117,723 | 250,657 | 8.0 | 2,097,536 | 116,956 | 5.6 | 526,091 | 57,651 | 11.0 | 494,096 | 76,050 | 15.4 |
| Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage | 1,329,666 | 89,203 | 6.7 | 883,676 | 10,571 | 1.2 | 227,974 | 25,853 | 11.3 | 218,016 | 52,779 | 24.2 |
| Foreign-born white | 215,143 | 27,444 | 12.8 | 140,064 | 2,806 | 2.0 | 36,963 | 7,650 | 20.7 | 38,116 | 16,988 | 44.6 |
| Negro | 682,826 | 268,623 | 39.3 | 459,283 | 155,971 | 34.0 | 117,909 | 57,599 | 48.9 | 105,634 | 55,053 | 52.1 |
| Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other | 18,779 | 1,159 | 6.2 | 12,680 | 642 | 5.1 | 3,211 | 245 | 7.6 | 2,888 | 272 | 9.4 |

1 14th Census of the U.S. Population: 1920. Occupations of Children, Table 9, p. 14

# TABLE VI

## PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 10-15 YEARS OF AGE AMONG ALL WORKERS IN MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES[1]

| Industry and occupation | Persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total 10 years of age and over | Children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive | | | |
| | | Both sexes | | Boys | Girls |
| | | Number | Per cent | | |
| Total | 12,818,524 | 185,337 | 1.4 | 104,335 | 81,002 |
| Laborers and semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.) | 6,576,571 | 164,064 | 2.5 | 86,623 | 77,441 |
| Building and hand trades | 693,725 | 7,476 | 1.1 | 7,009 | 467 |
| Chemical and allied industries | 124,630 | 2,158 | 1.7 | 1,119 | 1,039 |
| Cigar and tobacco factories | 180,379 | 4,938 | 2.7 | 1,269 | 3,669 |
| Clay, glass, and stone industries | 209,978 | 4,968 | 2.4 | 3,939 | 1,029 |
| Clothing industries | 422,137 | 11,757 | 2.8 | 2,288 | 9,469 |
| Electrical supply factories | 91,630 | 1,892 | 2.1 | 1,013 | 879 |
| Food industries | 348,430 | 9,934 | 2.9 | 4,633 | 5,301 |
| Iron and steel industries | 1,419,593 | 12,904 | .9 | 10,617 | 2,287 |
| Other metal industries | 159,178 | 3,766 | 2.4 | 2,181 | 1,585 |
| Lumber and furniture industries | 489,332 | 10,585 | 2.2 | 9,159 | 1,426 |
| Paper and pulp mills | 106,932 | 1,273 | 1.2 | 730 | 543 |
| Paper-box factories | 23,836 | 1,790 | 7.5 | 464 | 1,326 |
| Printing and publishing | 91,839 | 4,023 | 4.4 | 2,048 | 1,975 |
| Rubber factories | 137,671 | 2,106 | 1.5 | 1,167 | 939 |
| Shoe factories | 225,435 | 7,545 | 3.3 | 4,374 | 3,171 |
| Tanneries | 59,706 | 781 | 1.3 | 584 | 197 |
| Textile industries | 945,707 | 54,649 | 5.8 | 21,917 | 32,732 |
| Cotton mills | 378,769 | 21,875 | 5.8 | 10,498 | 11,377 |
| Knitting mills | 119,547 | 7,991 | 6.7 | 2,087 | 5,904 |
| Silk mills | 125,801 | 10,023 | 8.0 | 3,220 | 6,803 |
| Woolen and worsted mills | 148,645 | 7,077 | 4.8 | 3,009 | 4,068 |
| All other textile mills | 172,945 | 7,683 | 4.4 | 3,103 | 4,580 |
| All other | 846,433 | 21,519 | 2.5 | 12,112 | 9,407 |
| All other occupations | 6,241,953 | [2] 21,273 | .3 | 17,712 | 3,561 |

[1] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, vol. 4, Population, Occupations, pp. 378 and 480. Washington, 1923.

[2] Includes 6,980 apprentices to building and hand trades, 12,343 apprentices to other industries, and 1,950 children engaged in other occupations.

1 Children's Bureau, op. cit., p. 17

# TABLE VII

## NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF CHILDREN OF EACH SEX 10-15 YEARS OF AGE IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1880-1920 [1]

| CENSUS YEAR AND SEX. | CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Total number. | Engaged in gainful occupations. | |
| | | Number. | Per cent. |
| **1920** | | | |
| Both sexes | 12,502,582 | 1,060,858 | 8.5 |
| Male | 6,294,985 | 714,248 | 11.3 |
| Female | 6,207,597 | 346,610 | 5.6 |
| **1910** | | | |
| Both sexes | 10,828,363 | 1,990,225 | 18.4 |
| Male | 5,464,228 | 1,353,139 | 24.8 |
| Female | 5,364,137 | 637,086 | 11.9 |
| **1900** | | | |
| Both sexes | 9,613,252 | 1,750,178 | 18.2 |
| Male | 4,852,427 | 1,264,411 | 26.1 |
| Female | 4,760,825 | 485,767 | 10.2 |
| **1890** | | | |
| Both sexes | 8,322,373 | [1] 1,503,771 | 18.1 |
| Male | 4,219,145 | [1] 1,094,854 | 25.9 |
| Female | 4,103,228 | [1] 408,917 | 10.0 |
| **1880** | | | |
| Both sexes | 6,649,483 | 1,118,356 | 16.8 |
| Male | 3,376,114 | 825,187 | 24.4 |
| Female | 3,273,369 | 293,169 | 9.0 |

[1] Corrected figures; for explanation, see Occupation Report for 1900, pp. LXVI-LXXIII.

1 14th Census of the U.S. Population: 1920. Occupations of Children, Table 1, p. 5

TABLE VIII

~~Table IV.~~—*Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920, in number of children in each principal occupation group, by geographical divisions and States*

[Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population: 1920. Occupations of Children]

| Divisions and States | Children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, engaged in specified occupation group | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | | | Agricultural pursuits | | | Manufacturing and mechanical industries | | | Domestic and personal service | | | Clerical occupations | | | Trade | | | Transportation | | | Extraction of minerals | | | Other occupations | | |
| | 1920 | 1910 | Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920[1] | 1920 | 1910 | Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920 | 1920 | 1910 | Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920 | 1920 | 1910 | Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920 | 1920 | 1910 | Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920 | 1920 | 1910 | Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1020 | 1920 | 1910 | Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920 | 1920 | 1910 | Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920 | 1920 | 1910 | Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920 |
| United States | 1,060,858 | 1,990,225 | −46.7 | 647,309 | 1,432,428 | −54.8 | 185,337 | 260,944 | −29.0 | 64,006 | 112,157 | −51.8 | 80,140 | 71,001 | +12.9 | 63,368 | 70,700 | −10.4 | 18,912 | 20,802 | −9.1 | 7,191 | 18,090 | −60.2 | 4,595 | 4,163 | +12.0 |
| New England | 69,239 | 63,939 | −46.7 | 3,053 | 6,692 | −46.4 | 39,708 | 40,291 | −1.4 | 2,940 | 4,331 | −32.0 | 6,973 | 6,171 | +13.0 | 6,110 | 6,978 | −14.5 | 1,086 | 1,067 | +1.8 | 30 | 99 | −69.7 | 333 | 310 | +7.4 |
| Maine | 2,585 | 5,426 | −52.4 | 823 | 1,600 | −48.6 | 844 | 2,623 | −67.8 | 454 | 637 | −28.7 | 113 | 143 | −21.0 | 239 | 303 | −21.1 | 86 | 82 | ---------- | 2 | 11 | ---------- | 24 | 27 | ---------- |
| New Hampshire | 1,626 | 3,759 | −59.4 | 216 | 543 | −60.4 | 852 | 2,539 | −66.4 | 165 | 320 | −48.4 | 87 | 91 | ---------- | 166 | 201 | −17.4 | 29 | 44 | ---------- | 1 | 10 | ---------- | 11 | 11 | ---------- |
| Vermont | 1,277 | 2,565 | −50.2 | 610 | 1,306 | −60.9 | 276 | 486 | −43.2 | 219 | 448 | −51.1 | 47 | 43 | ---------- | 103 | 193 | −16.6 | 31 | 47 | ---------- | 18 | 38 | ---------- | 13 | 4 | ---------- |
| Massachusetts | 33,723 | 32,745 | +3.0 | 831 | 1,131 | −26.5 | 23,753 | 21,637 | +9.8 | 1,226 | 1,764 | −30.5 | 4,317 | 3,995 | +8.1 | 2,749 | 3,399 | −19.1 | 655 | 612 | +7.0 | 7 | 27 | ---------- | 185 | 180 | +2.8 |
| Rhode Island | 8,669 | 8,076 | +0.1 | 119 | 231 | −48.5 | 6,979 | 5,024 | +15.9 | 185 | 299 | −38.1 | 737 | 747 | −1.3 | 420 | 637 | −34.0 | 96 | 102 | −6.9 | 2 | 6 | ---------- | 31 | 30 | ---------- |
| Connecticut | 11,659 | 11,368 | +1.7 | 655 | 881 | −37.0 | 7,004 | 5,982 | +0.3 | 597 | 863 | −19.2 | 1,072 | 1,152 | +46.1 | 1,373 | 1,245 | +10.3 | 189 | 180 | +5.0 | ---------- | 7 | ---------- | 69 | 58 | ---------- |
| Middle Atlantic | 131,541 | 187,781 | −29.9 | 8,922 | 29,453 | −59.7 | 51,293 | 75,880 | −20.3 | 8,511 | 19,961 | −57.4 | 30,924 | 29,581 | +4.2 | 13,817 | 18,201 | −24.1 | 3,737 | 4,145 | −9.8 | 3,427 | 8,352 | −59.0 | 910 | 1,108 | −17.9 |
| New York | 49,846 | 55,094 | −23.4 | 2,401 | 6,612 | −63.7 | 17,842 | 24,050 | −25.8 | 2,404 | 6,447 | −62.7 | 19,064 | 16,928 | +12.6 | 5,854 | 8,621 | −32.0 | 1,783 | 1,862 | −4.2 | 20 | 55 | ---------- | 478 | 619 | −7.9 |
| New Jersey | 26,024 | 25,792 | +0.9 | 998 | 2,542 | −60.7 | 15,630 | 13,877 | +12.5 | 1,226 | 2,657 | −53.9 | 5,137 | 3,346 | +53.5 | 2,185 | 2,583 | −15.4 | 687 | 603 | +13.9 | 15 | 30 | ---------- | 146 | 154 | −5.2 |
| Pennsylvania | 55,671 | 96,895 | −42.5 | 5,523 | 20,299 | −72.8 | 27,821 | 38,953 | −28.5 | 4,881 | 10,857 | −55.0 | 0,723 | 9,407 | −28.5 | 6,778 | 5,997 | −17.4 | 1,267 | 1,680 | −24.6 | 3,392 | 8,267 | −59.0 | 286 | 435 | −34.3 |
| East North Central | 100,801 | 176,240 | −42.8 | 23,425 | 76,935 | −69.5 | 30,152 | 44,020 | −31.5 | 8,683 | 17,535 | −51.3 | 17,200 | 14,512 | +18.9 | 16,693 | 17,095 | −2.9 | 3,052 | 3,448 | −11.5 | 905 | 1,788 | −49.4 | 831 | 807 | +3.0 |
| Ohio | 18,119 | 42,846 | −57.7 | 3,721 | 15,341 | −75.7 | 4,874 | 12,122 | −59.8 | 1,776 | 4,729 | −62.4 | 2,352 | 3,244 | −27.5 | 4,231 | 6,445 | −22.3 | 528 | 884 | −29.0 | 347 | 586 | −59.5 | 190 | 225 | −15.[illegible] |
| Indiana | 10,911 | 33,603 | −49.8 | 4,844 | 17,981 | −73.0 | 4,744 | 7,345 | −35.4 | 1,638 | 2,910 | −43.7 | 1,643 | 1,302 | +26.2 | 3,045 | 2,839 | +7.3 | 631 | 570 | +10.7 | 225 | 585 | −61.4 | 140 | 161 | −13.0 |
| Illinois | 36,933 | 56,510 | −34.6 | 5,801 | 23,370 | −75.2 | 11,714 | 13,488 | −13.2 | 2,587 | 6,226 | −50.5 | 10,433 | 7,497 | +39.2 | 4,808 | 5,113 | −4.8 | 1,007 | 1,299 | −22.5 | 251 | 249 | +0.8 | 272 | 268 | +1.5 |
| Michigan | 13,154 | 19,293 | −31.8 | 3,588 | 8,202 | −56.7 | 3,305 | 4,992 | −33.8 | 1,315 | 1,827 | −28.0 | 1,437 | 1,285 | +11.8 | 2,771 | 2,322 | +19.3 | 498 | 403 | +23.6 | 74 | 80 | ---------- | 165 | 92 | ---------- |
| Wisconsin | 15,684 | 23,898 | −34.4 | 6,471 | 11,951 | −54.2 | 5,515 | 6,073 | −9.2 | 1,267 | 2,943 | −56.9 | 1,395 | 1,184 | +17.8 | 1,678 | 1,376 | +21.9 | 288 | 292 | −1.4 | 7 | 18 | ---------- | 63 | 61 | ---------- |
| West North Central | 57,906 | 142,045 | −59.2 | 29,722 | 103,348 | −71.2 | 7,938 | 12,685 | −37.4 | 5,029 | 10,817 | −53.5 | 5,884 | 4,929 | +19.4 | 6,623 | 5,516 | +0.1 | 1,914 | 2,333 | −18.0 | 324 | 875 | −63.0 | 472 | 442 | +6.8 |
| Minnesota | 8,271 | 18,364 | −55.0 | 4,698 | 13,373 | −64.9 | 665 | 1,264 | −47.4 | 869 | 1,921 | −54.8 | 712 | 515 | +15.8 | 1,035 | 793 | +30.5 | 215 | 302 | −28.8 | 15 | 22 | ---------- | 62 | 74 | ---------- |
| Iowa | 9,121 | 24,385 | −62.5 | 4,184 | 16,711 | −75.0 | 1,099 | 2,381 | −53.8 | 1,052 | 2,227 | −52.8 | 714 | 799 | −10.6 | 1,538 | 1,370 | +12.3 | 369 | 495 | −25.6 | 66 | 341 | −83.5 | 109 | 60 | ---------- |
| Missouri | 22,687 | 52,702 | −57.1 | 9,522 | 35,134 | −72.6 | 4,816 | 7,206 | −33.2 | 1,591 | 3,570 | −55.4 | 3,443 | 2,745 | +25.4 | 2,124 | 2,720 | −21.9 | 694 | 815 | −15.0 | 141 | 298 | −52.7 | 156 | 213 | −26.8 |
| North Dakota | 2,816 | 7,352 | −61.7 | 2,364 | 6,283 | −52.4 | 48 | 144 | −66.7 | 199 | 607 | −70.2 | 47 | 41 | ---------- | 97 | 118 | −17.8 | 43 | 86 | ---------- | 5 | ---------- | ---------- | 13 | 13 | ---------- |
| South Dakota | 2,555 | 8,209 | −68.9 | 1,928 | 7,090 | −72.8 | 120 | 157 | −23.6 | 206 | 697 | −65.7 | 64 | 42 | ---------- | 161 | 183 | −12.0 | 56 | 114 | −50.9 | 2 | 17 | ---------- | 19 | 9 | ---------- |
| Nebraska | 5,286 | 12,304 | −57.0 | 3,171 | 9,947 | −68.1 | 469 | 537 | −12.7 | 440 | 763 | −41.5 | 370 | 273 | +35.5 | 569 | 648 | +3.8 | 200 | 198 | −1.0 | 3 | 12 | ---------- | 58 | 25 | ---------- |
| Kansas | 7,270 | 18,730 | −61.2 | 3,755 | 14,810 | −74.6 | 721 | 996 | −27.6 | 667 | 1,072 | −37.8 | 534 | 414 | +29.0 | 1,099 | 884 | +24.3 | 337 | 321 | +5.0 | 102 | 186 | −45.2 | 55 | 47 | ---------- |
| South Atlantic | 273,981 | 563,240 | −51.4 | 214,906 | 456,913 | −53.0 | 26,304 | 55,201 | −52.3 | 12,380 | 28,247 | −56.2 | 8,318 | 6,494 | +28.1 | 7,150 | 8,962 | −20.2 | 3,383 | 3,816 | −11.3 | 817 | 3,163 | −74.2 | 723 | 450 | +60.7 |
| Delaware | 1,400 | 3,656 | −61.5 | 393 | 2,185 | −82.0 | 405 | 644 | −37.1 | 168 | 433 | −61.2 | 249 | 189 | +31.7 | 125 | 150 | −16.7 | 58 | 44 | ---------- | ---------- | 1 | ---------- | 8 | 10 | ---------- |
| Maryland | 12,300 | 24,167 | −49.1 | 3,168 | 9,127 | −65.3 | 3,794 | 7,605 | −49.5 | 1,521 | 3,391 | −55.1 | 2,096 | 1,849 | +13.4 | 1,241 | 1,504 | −17.5 | 383 | 416 | −7.9 | 27 | 291 | −90.7 | 70 | 84 | ---------- |
| District of Columbia | 1,871 | 1,345 | +39.1 | 5 | 52 | ---------- | 198 | 152 | +30.3 | 413 | 391 | +5.6 | 680 | 255 | +166.7 | 416 | 365 | +14.0 | 127 | 96 | +32.3 | ---------- | ---------- | ---------- | 32 | 34 | ---------- |
| Virginia | 25,493 | 61,879 | −58.8 | 15,501 | 44,312 | −65.0 | 3,596 | 0,733 | −46.6 | 2,885 | 7,023 | −58.9 | 1,157 | 818 | +41.4 | 1,367 | 1,536 | −11.0 | 654 | 760 | −13.9 | 188 | 632 | −70.3 | 145 | 65 | ---------- |
| West Virginia | 7,431 | 23,802 | −68.8 | 4,112 | 16,566 | −75.2 | 1,096 | 2,197 | −50.1 | 746 | 1,762 | −57.7 | 230 | 292 | −21.2 | 460 | 718 | −35.9 | 269 | 377 | −28.6 | 472 | 1,851 | −74.5 | 46 | 39 | ---------- |
| North Carolina | 52,162 | 144,632 | −57.0 | 50,582 | 120,832 | +58.1 | 7,697 | 15,444 | −53.2 | 1,637 | 4,733 | −65.4 | 790 | 695 | +13.7 | 808 | 1,108 | −27.1 | 628 | 689 | −23.4 | 30 | 89 | ---------- | 90 | 42 | ---------- |
| South Carolina | 63,520 | 117,252 | −45.8 | 56,920 | 102,105 | −44.3 | 3,829 | 10,215 | −62.5 | 1,308 | 3,432 | −61.9 | 475 | 402 | +18.2 | 662 | 747 | −24.8 | 338 | 306 | +10.8 | 11 | 19 | ---------- | 77 | 27 | ---------- |
| Georgia | 88,934 | 161,589 | −45.0 | 77,105 | 142,614 | −45.9 | 4,384 | 8,771 | −50.0 | 2,855 | 5,628 | −48.4 | 2,058 | 1,513 | +35.6 | 1,534 | 2,127 | −27.9 | 764 | 736 | −2.8 | 63 | 141 | −62.4 | 181 | 104 | +74.0 |
| Florida | 10,864 | 24,924 | −56.4 | 7,120 | 19,120 | −62.8 | 1,305 | 2,540 | −48.6 | 847 | 1,554 | −45.5 | 583 | 476 | +22.5 | 637 | 707 | −9.0 | 262 | 343 | −23.0 | 36 | 139 | −74.1 | 74 | 45 | ---------- |
| East South Central | 221,342 | 441,890 | −49.9 | 196,620 | 306,203 | −50.4 | 8,503 | 17,338 | −51.0 | 6,821 | 14,984 | −54.5 | 2,672 | 2,890 | −7.5 | 3,677 | 4,017 | −27.3 | 1,780 | 2,230 | −20.4 | 1,045 | 3,011 | −65.3 | 324 | 311 | +4.2 |
| Kentucky | 26,754 | 64,592 | −58.6 | 21,036 | 63,209 | −60.6 | 1,657 | 4,092 | −59.5 | 1,335 | 3,892 | −65.7 | 828 | 948 | −12.7 | 905 | 1,313 | −31.1 | 390 | 433 | −9.9 | 493 | 708 | −30.4 | 100 | 97 | ---------- |
| Tennessee | 39,837 | 83,956 | −52.6 | 32,326 | 70,692 | −54.3 | 2,854 | 5,108 | −44.1 | 1,929 | 4,240 | −54.5 | 757 | 825 | −7.0 | 1,115 | 1,414 | −21.1 | 627 | 725 | −27.3 | 243 | 868 | −72.0 | 75 | 84 | ---------- |
| Alabama | 84,397 | 154,712 | −45.4 | 77,395 | 140,310 | −44.8 | 2,422 | 5,975 | −59.5 | 2,089 | 4,012 | −47.9 | 665 | 849 | −21.5 | 983 | 1,401 | −29.8 | 467 | 550 | −28.2 | 299 | 1,434 | −79.1 | 75 | 81 | ---------- |
| Mississippi | 70,354 | 138,530 | −49.2 | 55,863 | 131,092 | −50.1 | 1,570 | 2,163 | −27.4 | 1,467 | 2,840 | −48.3 | 411 | 268 | +53.4 | 673 | 789 | −27.4 | 396 | 428 | −7.5 | 10 | 1 | ---------- | 64 | 49 | ---------- |
| West South Central | 184,267 | 372,573 | −50.6 | 158,187 | 341,736 | −53.7 | 6,817 | 9,103 | −25.8 | 6,772 | 11,479 | −41.0 | 4,433 | 3,010 | +47.3 | 4,559 | 4,375 | +4.2 | 2,537 | 2,224 | +14.1 | 467 | 293 | +59.4 | 495 | 363 | +36.4 |
| Arkansas | 48,140 | 92,450 | −47.9 | 45,686 | 87,522 | −47.8 | 857 | 1,711 | −49.9 | 647 | 1,725 | −62.5 | 254 | 339 | −25.1 | 364 | 551 | −44.1 | 258 | 345 | −25.4 | 26 | 98 | ---------- | 48 | 58 | ---------- |
| Louisiana | 32,274 | 59,732 | −46.0 | 23,718 | 49,435 | −52.0 | 2,502 | 3,046 | −17.9 | 2,501 | 4,390 | −43.1 | 1,703 | 1,136 | +49.9 | 1,195 | 1,171 | +2.1 | 514 | 465 | +10.5 | 52 | 16 | ---------- | 88 | 64 | ---------- |
| Oklahoma | 22,981 | 46,111 | −50.2 | 19,752 | 43,060 | −54.1 | 694 | 709 | −2.1 | 722 | 1,061 | −32.0 | 366 | 181 | +102.2 | 774 | 623 | +24.2 | 387 | 360 | +7.5 | 203 | 69 | +244.0 | 83 | 58 | ---------- |
| Texas | 80,872 | 174,380 | −53.0 | 69,031 | 161,719 | −57.3 | 2,764 | 3,727 | −25.8 | 2,902 | 4,294 | −32.4 | 2,110 | 1,354 | +55.8 | 2,225 | 1,930 | +15.3 | 1,378 | 1,053 | +30.9 | 186 | 120 | +55.0 | 275 | 183 | +50.8 |
| Mountain | 16,512 | 22,183 | −29.6 | 8,950 | 15,057 | −40.5 | 1,512 | 1,779 | −15.0 | 1,358 | 1,961 | −30.7 | 1,201 | 904 | +32.9 | 1,619 | 1,298 | +24.7 | 557 | 561 | −0.6 | 151 | 413 | −03.4 | 164 | 115 | +42.6 |
| Montana | 1,402 | 1,764 | −20.5 | 578 | 1,053 | −35.5 | 91 | 125 | −27.2 | 169 | 252 | −32.9 | 131 | 61 | ---------- | 231 | 137 | +68.6 | 68 | 111 | −38.7 | 15 | 9 | ---------- | 19 | 15 | ---------- |
| Idaho | 1,608 | 2,698 | −40.4 | 1,092 | 2,166 | −49.6 | 106 | 130 | −22.1 | 123 | 179 | −31.3 | 64 | 36 | ---------- | 133 | 116 | +14.7 | 66 | 46 | ---------- | 4 | 1 | ---------- | 20 | 18 | ---------- |
| Wyoming | 608 | 866 | −29.8 | 307 | 601 | −48.9 | 58 | 68 | ---------- | 67 | 91 | ---------- | 40 | 16 | ---------- | 67 | 22 | ---------- | 52 | 32 | ---------- | 23 | 41 | ---------- | 4 | 5 | ---------- |
| Colorado | 4,558 | 5,864 | −22.3 | 1,955 | 3,197 | −38.8 | 589 | 624 | −6.6 | 445 | 642 | −17.9 | 612 | 471 | +29.9 | 649 | 573 | +13.3 | 200 | 206 | ---------- | 61 | 217 | −76.5 | 51 | 34 | ---------- |
| New Mexico | 2,195 | 5,806 | −62.2 | 1,418 | 4,750 | −70.1 | 241 | 317 | −24.0 | 243 | 406 | −40.1 | 55 | 40 | ---------- | 93 | 111 | −16.2 | 91 | 104 | −12.5 | 33 | 69 | ---------- | 21 | 9 | ---------- |
| Arizona | 2,711 | 1,673 | +62.0 | 1,981 | 987 | +101.0 | 205 | 211 | −2.8 | 150 | 183 | −18.0 | 70 | 57 | ---------- | 176 | 99 | ---------- | 93 | 75 | ---------- | 13 | 42 | ---------- | 17 | 9 | ---------- |
| Utah | 2,361 | 3,231 | −26.9 | 1,477 | 2,184 | −32.4 | 206 | 299 | −31.1 | 140 | 257 | −45.5 | 201 | 187 | +7.5 | 240 | 189 | +27.0 | 63 | 68 | ---------- | 7 | 27 | ---------- | 27 | 20 | ---------- |
| Nevada | 159 | 286 | −40.9 | 42 | 119 | −64.7 | 16 | 9 | ---------- | 31 | 51 | ---------- | 22 | 26 | ---------- | 30 | 51 | ---------- | 18 | 19 | ---------- | 5 | 7 | ---------- | 5 | 4 | ---------- |
| Pacific | 16,160 | 20,222 | −20.0 | 3,524 | 7,091 | −50.3 | 3,110 | 3,557 | −12.5 | 1,606 | 2,742 | −41.4 | 2,476 | 2,410 | +2.7 | 4,320 | 3,258 | +32.6 | 766 | 872 | −12.2 | 25 | 95 | ---------- | 343 | 197 | +74.1 |
| Washington | 4,650 | 5,466 | −14.9 | 1,024 | 2,251 | −54.6 | 1,044 | 881 | +18.5 | 463 | 753 | −38.5 | 640 | 435 | +24.1 | 1,225 | 768 | +69.5 | 204 | 264 | ---------- | 6 | 39 | ---------- | 84 | 75 | ---------- |
| Oregon | 2,452 | 3,505 | −29.8 | 668 | 2,000 | −66.6 | 341 | 436 | −21.8 | 249 | 360 | −30.8 | 308 | 165 | +86.7 | 785 | 392 | +100.3 | 77 | 135 | −43.0 | 1 | 5 | ---------- | 33 | 12 | ---------- |
| California | 9,057 | 11,251 | −19.5 | 1,832 | 2,840 | −35.5 | 1,725 | 2,240 | −23.0 | 894 | 1,629 | −46.1 | 1,627 | 1,810 | −10.1 | 2,310 | 2,098 | +10.1 | 425 | 473 | −10.1 | 18 | 51 | ---------- | 226 | 110 | +105.5 |

[1] A plus sign (+) denotes increase and a minus sign (−) denotes decrease. Per cent not shown where base is less than 100.



From Children's Bureau, op. cit., face p. 20

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